The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXVI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1923 No. 3004

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: Ernest Thurtle, 36 Temple, Fortune Hill, N. W. 4, England.

SOME of the results of the French invasion of the Ruhr:

A marked decrease in German coal shipments to France;

Enormous expenditures for the French, which will make vastly more difficult the collection of sums for reparations;

A complete and costly boycott of French trade and travelers in Germany, entailing increasing financial losses to French merchants;

Dangerous manifestations of hatred against foreigners throughout Germany;

The heartening of Communists everywhere; Germany compelled to look to Russia for aid;

The uniting of German Socialists, big-business men, reactionaries, monarchists, and republicans as they have not been united since the war;

The strengthening of the position of the German big-business buzzards who are making use of Germany's distress to exploit her economically by identifying themselves with the national cause;

The revelation to the world that French militarism is exactly the same as the German militarism of 1914, and equally a menace to the world;

The complete demonstration of the folly of those who declared that "the only argument the Germans can understand is force";

The proof that force is *not* invincible, and that in passive resistance lies a weapon more powerful than armies and navies;

In addition we have the revolt of the workers everywhere against the French; the demand by the British Labor Party that the British Government take prompt economic action against France, and the ringing statement by Senator Borah that "the action of France . . . is a defiance of international order and peace. It is an offense against humanity," and his demand that the United States act at once and "make our protest—this is the very least we can do, and we should do very much more."

If the Germans are wise they will now overthrow the entire Versailles Treaty by refusing further payments of any kind until all French troops are withdrawn from German soil and a fresh conference called to readjust reparations and revise the treaty.

THE cloud that shrouds Mr. Hughes's actions is becoming too thick for tolerance. Mr. Hughes acts, when he does act, and speaks, constantly, in the name of the American people. They have a right to know what their spokesman says. We cannot become as excited as some Senators over the activities of Mr. Boyden, because what he has said is better sense than seeps out from the State Department, and we are not of those who think the United States should turn its back upon the Atlantic Ocean. But it is shocking that Mr. Boyden should think his statements had the approval of the Department of State, when Mr. Hughes is saying that they have not; it is intolerable that M. Jusserand should understand Mr. Hughes to affirm the legality of the Ruhr occupation, and so report to Paris, when Mr. Hughes insists he did not; it is shameful that our Department of State should permit London, Paris, and Berlin to have totally different conceptions of its sympathies and policies. Either Mr. Hughes is saying different things to different people, or he is not choosing his words with even ordinary care. In any case the American people has a right to know what he is saying. And, we might add, a great many Americans discover a sour taste in the sudden zeal of the French Government to ratify Mr. Hughes's Washington treaties. It follows altogether too close upon Mr. Hughes's almost dramatic failure to protest against the invasion of the Ruhr.

NEGOTIATIONS for refunding the payment of the British debt were a gamble at best. The American commission, by the explicit terms of the Congressional act which created it, had no power to negotiate for interest at a lower rate than 4¼ per cent or for payment over a longer period than twenty-five years. Yet apparently the only difference of opinion between British and American commissioners concerned the choice of 3 or 3½ per cent, and fifty or sixty years. The Americans had no right to offer what they did; they could only gamble that Congress would have the sense to see the necessity of changing its mind. Apparently British opinion veers toward acceptance of the American offer. It seems to us a reasonable proposal. We hope that Congress will not vent its just spleen against Mr. Hughes's stubbornness by refusing to approve.

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GOVERNOR "AL" SMITH of New York State, in announcing his unconditional pardon of James Larkin, serving a five-year term under the State criminal anarchy law, made a classic contribution to the literature of civil liberty in America. There are phrases in it which should be taken to heart by the governors of the twenty-odd States that still have hysterical anti-free speech laws on their statute-books:

> Political progress results from the clash of conflicting opinions. The public assertion of an erroneous doctrine is perhaps the surest way to disclose the error and make it evident to the electorate. . . . It is a distinct disservice to the State to impose, for the utterance of a misguided opinion, such extreme punishment as may tend to deter, in proper cases, that full and free discussion of political issues which is fundamental to democracy.
>
> There is no evidence that Larkin ever endeavored to incite any specific act of violence. . . . Substantially, his offense was nothing more than the issuance of a misguided opinion that in the remote future our system of government should be changed by a process abhorrent to our institutions. . . . Our State rests too firmly upon the devotion of its citizens to require for its protection an imprisonment of five years for the mere expression of an erroneous or even an illegal opinion unaccompanied by any overt act.

That is sound common-sense, good Jeffersonian Americanism, and intelligent statesmanship. But California and a dozen other States are still imprisoning men for no other crime than being members of the I.W.W., and two score prisoners of opinion are still in the Federal penitentiaries.

PLAINLY members of the Ku Klux Klan cannot escape responsibility for the horrid crime at Mer Rouge, Louisiana. But it is a lazy mind that is satisfied with that conclusion. For the same readiness to resort to violence which has made Mer Rouge a word of infamy throughout this country has been displayed, without the aid of the Ku Klux Klan, in Arkansas; and Williamson County, Illinois, seems as unable to discover the perpetrators of the Herrin crimes as a Southern county to ferret out lynchers. And the record of Morehouse Parish, which includes Mer Rouge, shows that Klan methods are no novelty there. Morehouse Parish has a population of which 75 per cent are Negroes. The white minority rules the parish by force; Morehouse Parish has one of the blackest records of lynching in all Louisiana. It had thirteen recorded lynchings in a half-century. Wherever whites rule a black majority or keep a minority in subjection by force, violence becomes habitual, and sometimes, as in Mer Rouge, it oversteps the boundaries of race. (It is significant that Mer Rouge jumped into the headlines only when whites were killed.) Whether this violence is dramatized and given a name like the Ku Klux Klan is relatively unimportant. The habit of violence is the root evil and would persist even if the Klan as such were suppressed.

THIS habit of violence, while encouraged by white domination, is too general in the United States to be explained by race alone. Boone County, Arkansas, where a citizens' committee has been holding a sort of lynch court, flogging strikers and union sympathizers (even hanging one), and closing stores which refused to display the open-shop sign, has less than one-tenth of one per cent Negro population. Williamson County, Illinois, has not even a large foreign-born population. Yet both have made themselves notorious for sudden outbursts of violence which their citizens apparently have approved. The acquittal of five of the Herrin miners charged with murder may mean that those five men had nothing to do with the crimes, but combined with the fact that they were the men selected for trial by a bitterly hostile prosecution, in a town where thousands must have known about the crimes, it is evidence of the same kind of community indorsement of violence as lets lynching go unpunished in the South. In Arkansas, it is alleged, the railway strikers burned bridges. No one was punished. Now a self-appointed citizens' committee of anti-union men has taken charge of Harrison and other towns; sheriff, judge, and mayor seem to have abdicated in their favor, and even the Governor, by his refusal to send troops, supports the inquisition. These incidents should not be regarded as isolated outbreaks of industrial passion or race feeling: they cannot be cured by suppression of one organization or by punishment of a few individuals. They are significant of a deep canker in the American people: our readiness to resort to violence to enforce our code of ethics, and to indorse the violence of others if we approve the code they seek to enforce.

SOME people live in yearly expectation of earthquakes or floods; some people build cyclone cellars; and some people never know when their best fumed-oak library set is going to descend into the black interior of a mine cave. In the anthracite region of Pennsylvania coal companies have so damaged property by mining within a few feet of the surface that a bitter fight has been waged against this "pillar-robbing." A few years ago so much publicity was given to the almost daily cave-ins in Scranton that business firms stopped going there and the city's population increase fell off materially. A mine fire has raged under Carbondale for more than half a century. This fire frequently bursts through apertures in the ground and gives off poisonous gases. In Scranton, Pittston, and scores of other towns in the Lackawanna Valley, "settling" of streets and houses is a common occurrence. One wakes up in the morning to find oneself ten or fifteen feet below the surface of the surrounding land. Of course, the coal company makes haste to settle damage claims, but many property holders prefer not to be bothered that way. Once there was a wake in South Scranton. The two chief mourners, who had partaken of alcoholic refreshments, fell asleep. When they awoke the corpse was gone. That part of the floor which supported the coffin had fallen into a mine cave. "I thought good people went to Heaven instead of the other way," said one of the mourners—so the story goes. In any case, after many years of protest and struggle an anti-mine cave law was recently put through the Pennsylvania legislature. This law has now been held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, and so, until some legal method of staying above ground is discovered, the people of the anthracite region will presumably have to repose at the bottom of the mine caves patiently figuring up their damages.

WE have nothing but admiration for the well-intentioned altruism of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, which seeks to have Cilicia in Asia Minor set aside as a national home for the Armenians. We cannot but wonder, though, how the good citizens who after reading with vicarious righteousness Mr. Gerard's resolution took new faith in the "basic traditions and moral

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principles upon which our nation is builded," reacted to another story which appeared in the press of the same date and emanated from just such another humanitarian society. Like the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, this other organization exists for the protection of a minority people in a foreign land, a people subject to robbery, arson, murder, rape, in short, to all the blood-curdling atrocities which cause good Christian Americans to shudder in horror. The dispatch states that the Turkish Society for the Protection of the Negro Minority in the United States, aroused by the actions of white mobs against Negroes in all parts of the country, particularly by a horrible lynching of a pregnant colored woman, has passed a resolution that the Government of the United States be requested to assign the States of Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and the Carolinas to the Negro minority in the United States in order that "safety shall attend the continuance in their present situation of the populations which are vexed by fears." The resolution further suggests that this Negro national home be set aside by the United States on the same basis and with the same guaranties as are proposed by the humanitarian representative of the American Government at Lausanne. To which we can only add that Matthew 7:3 covers the point very neatly.

BISHOP MANNING is technically correct in his insistence that the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant should resign if he can no longer preach the doctrines of his church, but if every clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church who has reached the position which Percy Grant has the courage to avow were to state his beliefs publicly, one-third of its pulpits would have to be vacated. More than that, they would be the pulpits now filled by the ablest and most socially minded clergymen of this particular denomination. But the Bishop is right; Percy Grant does not belong in that church any longer. It looks as if he were courting a heresy trial for the educational value that such a proceeding would have. The Episcopal Church can no more be static than any other institution in this rapidly changing modern world. A few years ago the Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey was dismissed from the Episcopal Church after a heresy trial, for sentiments which today seem mild. Percy Grant is merely leading the way again; but as his church is now organized and throttled he would be more at home in another and more liberal faith.

AS a place where the youth of the country is truly trained for living in America, we recommend the University of Michigan. The dream of our educational experts is there realized: the university is no academic backwater; it is the world in little. A few months ago G. D. Eaton, a member of the staff of the Sunday Magazine of the *Michigan Daily* (erroneously referred to in *The Nation* of January 10 as a faculty member) was forced to resign from the paper because of a review approving John Kenneth Turner's "Shall It Be Again?" Shortly afterward the editor was censured for publishing an article by Saul Carson, another editor, warmly commending *The Nation*. More recently still Mr. Carson wrote a discussion of gland transference called Back to Methuselah, a Shavian Dream Come True, which was similarly disapproved. The surveillance over the Sunday Magazine by the managing editor of the *Daily* was intensified to a point of war-time censorship; so the editors of the Sunday Magazine resigned in a body and announced their resignation on the front page of the Magazine. The managing editor promptly suppressed the whole edition (but not before the news had spread over the campus) and then issued an official release in which he rather belatedly "suspended" all the ex-editors from "further activities on the publication" and said kindly that the undergraduate editor-in-chief of the Magazine was "young and foolish." (The managing editor of the *Daily* is himself a first-year law student.) Such is the story. The editors of the Mazagine have lost their jobs, but they have learned, and taught the university at large, a little about what this great world is like.

IF women married to insane murderers continue to be denied divorces in England, and other women who murder their husbands continue to be sentenced to hang, something may some day be done to abolish capital punishment and reform the divorce laws—to the end, at least, of reducing the death-rate. As things stand, women are likely to go on murdering their husbands, then to go to the gallows themselves. It isn't a pretty subject, however you look at it, but Bernard Shaw has touched all its salient features in a statement in which he points out that the three women in England recently sentenced to hang will be missed far less, owing to the preponderance of their sex, than a similar number of men. He also says, "the only question really raised is whether pending the enactment of reasonable divorce laws the murders of husbands by their wives and of wives by their husbands should not be privileged. At present, for a woman there is no alternative to murder except dishonor. And it may be argued that a woman should prefer death to dishonor—her husband's death, of course."

FREDERIC HARRISON was almost the last survivor of the eminent Victorians. In that goodly company he occupies an important if not a capital position. His mind was distinguished for its alert catholicity; nothing human was alien to it—law, politics, economics, history, religion, philosophy, belles lettres. In 1867 he was a member of the Trades Union Commission, and in 1906, when he was seventy-five years old, he published a tragedy in verse! Truly an enormous intellect. Yet it is a question whether a man who enters so many domains of thought can be a leader in any. His politico-economic ideas, which in their time were called radical and liberal, seem to a modern liberal a rather tough specimen of good old-fashioned conservatism. His last word to the labor unions, which in his youth and their youth he encouraged, sounds like the scolding of an elderly aristocrat. His last word about the world in general, "swept over by a flood of democratic vulgarity," may be an expression of senile disgust by a man who has outlived his time, and yet many young men today are saying the same thing. Harrison's positivist philosophy, though not dead, is today a lost cause, or has diffused itself in streams of thought that are known by other names. It is in his literary essays, vigorous, sometimes dogmatic and opinionated, but written in admirable English and on the whole free and generous, that the ordinary reader will find the most charming, and therefore the most abiding, part of Harrison's extraordinary mind. There are not many critical essays in English (*pace*, young scribes) which are sounder in substance or finer in phrase than those in "Early Victorian Literature" and "The Choice of Books."

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The Coal Miners Look Ahead

So conservative a body as the United States Coal Commission, of which Mr. John Hays Hammond is chairman, suggests in its preliminary report that "it may be that both private property in an exhaustible resource and labor in a public-service industry must submit to certain modifications of their private rights." That is plainly a modest hint of the necessity of moving toward Federal control, if not ownership and operation, of the coal industry. It strikingly indicates the necessity of studying proposals for nationalization.

It is interesting to note the refreshing absence of rigidity and dogma in the coal-nationalization program put out by the Nationalization Research Committee of the United Mine Workers of America, to which we referred a few weeks ago. It is not one of those cut-and-dried documents which promise the solution of all the economic evils of the industry and incidentally of the world. It avoids the tone of finality which too often marks the pronouncements of political theorists. The restraint and scientific spirit of the pamphlet are indicated by the fact that its title, "How to Run Coal," carries the sub-title, "*Suggestions* for a Plan of Public Ownership, Public Control, and Democratic Management in the Coal Industry," and by the further fact that it supplies blank pages on which the miners are invited to enter their caveats and to jot down their constructive comments.

This American plan for the nationalization of coal provides for a Federal Interstate Commission of Mines to control budget and policy on the basis of continuous fact-finding, headed by a Secretary of Mines with a seat in the Cabinet; a national mining council to administer policy, on which the representation of technicians and consumers is predominant; maintenance and perfection of the existing machinery of collective bargaining, with the difference that wages will be recognized as the first charge upon the industry and the joint wage-scale commission of miners and operators will be guided in its negotiations by a bureau of wage measurement set up by the Federal commission to determine the boundaries of business expediency and economic feasibility within which all rates, for both coal and wages, must be fixed.

One of the striking features of this American plan is the constitution of the Federal Interstate Commission of Mines to which the miners propose to intrust their industry. Five of the eleven members of this commission are allotted to the professional and industrial associations—the engineering and technical societies, the other six to be appointed by the President. There is no explicit demand for the representation of labor or the miners themselves on this policy-making and purse-holding commission, although it is probable that the representation of such organizations as the American Federation of Labor and the National Chamber of Commerce may be implicit in the term "industrial associations." The miners' emphatic recognition of the decisive function of technicians is noteworthy.

Equally significant is the large space given to advocacy of continuous fact-finding and scientific research as the essential bulwarks of democratic administration. It will be remembered that the term "fact-finding" as applied to coal and in the sense in which it has recently gained wide currency, as for instance in the demand made by leading business men of Rhode Island last week that the State legislature appoint a fact-finding commission to make an exhaustive study of the cotton industry, originated with this same miners' Nationalization Research Committee. During the hearings before the House Committee on Education and Labor, which was stirred to mild activity by the strike of last spring, Mr. John Brophy, the research committee's chairman, presented a brief for the establishment of a permanent compulsory *fact-finding* agency. The wide interest awakened by this appeal to the challenge of facts measurably contributed to the creation by Congress of the United States Coal Commission. The miners' faith, not so much in facts as ends in themselves, but in the scientific spirit inherent in the pursuit and use of facts as the basis of policy, is so manifestly sincere as in itself to command respect for their proposal.

We believe the miners are right in contending that the present private control of the coal industry is doomed by its own incompetence and inefficiency. We also believe they are right in contending that there are no insuperable legal obstacles in the way of nationalization. The conversion of private enterprise into a recognized public utility is not in the first instance a matter of law but a matter of public opinion. From the days when the English courts subjected the farriers and the innkeepers to public regulation on the ground that their trade was affected with a public interest, to the present time when similar considerations are bringing an increased range of private enterprises under public ownership and control, the legislatures and courts have slowly but surely responded to crystallized public demand.

On the question as to whether the American people are prepared for the nationalization of coal, as the miners believe, we are not so sanguine, nor are we certain that government ownership with government control would be as feasible a plan today as government ownership with properly safeguarded private operation. There are distinct theoretical advantages in either plan. The ablest and most public-spirited men who have entered the Federal service have in the past found themselves seriously hampered by irrelevant political considerations. The Federal service has not yet developed the necessary standards of efficiency and initiative, but it is possible that a true efficiency in government will be developed only by placing increasing responsibility upon governmental agencies, especially when responsibility is accompanied by such instruments of public education as the miners' nationalization plan provides. Government operation is of course safer in an industry which touches the public as closely as does coal. It may be, however, that before America reaches full public ownership and administration of coal the industry will have to pass through intermediate stages similar to those through which the railroads have passed.

It was to stimulate public discussion of precisely such questions as this that the miners put out their proposal. As the most carefully thought-out suggestion that has come to our attention for the needed reorganization of the coal industry we commend the miners' nationalization plan to the critical examination of our readers.[1]

[1] Copies may be obtained from John Brophy, Miners Building, Clearfield, Pa.

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Blood-Money

ON January 11 the French troops marched into the Ruhr to enrich the coffers of their Government; on January 18, just one week later, the foreign-exchange traders in New York declared that "the mark had virtually reached the vanishing-point as a medium of commerical exchange." This was the first outstanding result of a program which on its face was bound to fail, which will yet be written down as the most stupid and insensate action of the post-war period. The object of this fresh invasion, or the pretended object, was to increase the revenues paid by the Germans to their conquerors; the immediate outcome was so to hammer down the mark that one could buy a million for fifty dollars. Between January 14 and January 18 the value of the mark depreciated more than 50 per cent. In other words, this act of war on the part of the French not only doubled the cost of living in Germany but made nearly twice as difficult the payment of the reparations demanded of the German Government. When you are asked to pay in gold marks, and your paper marks drop in a week from 10,500 to the dollar to 24,000 to the dollar, the process of acquiring gold marks in a wrecked and bankrupt country becomes infinitely more difficult. It is killing the goose which lays the golden egg; it is biting off one's nose to spite one's face.

All of which is so obvious as to cast doubt upon the motives alleged by the French. They are not usually accused of being stupid; hence they must have reasoned out what was coming. We are compelled again to ask whether the true motive was not the desire to ruin and dismember Germany, to substitute territorial aggrandizement for reparations. This is, at least, an understandable motive. If it is the correct one it explains why the French have flown in the face of their own financial interests, why they have been guilty of acts which recall only one thing—the German occupation of Belgium, in which there was at least the excuse of a real state of war. We can no more today believe that these acts of Foch and Poincaré represent the heart and conscience of the bulk of the French people than we could believe that the war-time performances of the Germans in Belgium were an expression of the heart and conscience of the German people. Both are the expressions of governments gone mad. In this case the French seem to have achieved a remarkable unity of the German people, whose self-restraint has been extraordinary up to this present writing. Whether that self-restraint will remain if the pinch of cold and famine increases, and if the Rhenish Republic appears "by the will of the people" in the occupied French district with the Ruhr attached, as it is hinted in the dispatches that it shortly will, has yet to be seen.

But the worst part of all this madness is far more important than the financial folly of the French. It is that this act is bringing degradation, despair, ruin, and starvation to multitudes. This method of extracting money from a debtor is no more good morals than good business. Adam Smith wrote that "to found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers is . . . a project wholly unfit for a nation of shopkeepers, but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers." The converse is true. The suggestion that a great empire shall be destroyed in order to wring more moneys out of it is a project extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by big-business men desirous of taking over and forever owning and managing the steel and iron enterprises and the mines of their chief competitors. In the process of doing what they are doing the French have enormously widened the circle of misery throughout Germany. The drop in the mark means that great multitudes of people who have so far succeeded in keeping their heads above water have now been brought face to face with the same despair and hopelessness, the same actual want and suffering which, as every intelligent observer knows, have been wiping out the German middle class and decreasing the earning power of all classes. We are aware, of course, that there are many Americans, lacking in Christianity, who say that it serves the Germans right, that the latter are getting a taste of their own medicine. We are aware that those who speak for France are also perfectly indifferent where they do not take satisfaction in the sufferings of the German people. To this we can only respond that such blows at the cultural resources of any country are blows not only at that nation, but at every nation. It is, moreover, impossible to conceive that so ruthless a policy can be carried through without bringing the same punishment upon the French people which the folly of the German rulers brought upon their victims. The mills of the gods still grind. It is still true that no nation has the right to do wrong because another, now in its power, has sinned.

Meanwhile, by every mail from Germany come appeals for help which are not only indescribably pathetic, but clearly indicate that break-up of the finer side of a people's life which when it comes to pass means that they have retrograded for several centuries. Thus, the Philharmonic Orchestra in Berlin would be non-existent if it were not for American help; the book-publishing business in Germany exists only as its books are purchased in foreign lands; it is no longer even possible to bring out an edition of Goethe and Schiller. It is no longer possible to guarantee that each child will be educated, especially when it appears that the first thing that the French troops have done in many towns they have occupied is to turn the school-children out and use the schools for barracks. Even where schools are running, lack of clothes and food strikes at the school system. Last winter 40 per cent of the school-children of Berlin were without any underclothing whatever. Indubitably, multitudes are on the verge of collapse and a collapsed country produces neither gold marks nor surplus wealth.

Is it worthy of a great people like the French to obtain money at this cost? Can it be considered else than blood-money if it is so obtained? Does not every dollar won by duress endanger the safety and stability of France and of Europe itself? And what are we to think when we read that German citizens are to be court-martialed for not obeying the invading officers of a foreign military Power; that a German policeman has been arrested for failure to salute a French officer? Why, we can only think and believe that the spirit of Beseler, of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, has passed into Foch and Poincaré, that what was described as Prussian militarism is blossoming again on another soil.

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Puerile Panjandrums

OF all forms of censorship the most impressively puerile is probably the formal exclusion of distinguished but unpopular gentlemen from distinguished orders. Patriotic organizations had a magnificent time during the war venting their wrath against the enemy by excluding mild old professors from learned societies. England, of course, had a certain advantage over the United States in that she had grand high super-distinguished orders and various degrees of knighthood from which to shut out the Germans. She did not do it very well, if we are to believe the present dean of one of these orders; he declares that the statutes, which had gone neglected for two hundred years, required that the grand seal, or something of the sort, of the excluded member should be formally stamped upon and kicked downstairs; and he adds that if he had been dean when the Kaiser was dropped from the rolls he would have executed the statutes to the last stamp and kick. Now France is having a little post-bellum pleasure of a rather peculiar sort; the Great Chancellor of the Legion of Honor has just ordered the name of Victor Margueritte, honorary president of the Society of Men of Letters, erased from the lists of the commanders of the Legion.

Victor Margueritte's crime, like the crimes of some of the obstreperous gentlemen whom our American universities find it seemly to punish from time to time, was twofold. There was a reason, and there was an excuse. The reason, Victor Margueritte insists, was a book he wrote two years ago, called "Au Bord du Gouffre." This was an attack upon French diplomacy in the years before the war, and upon the criminal stupidity and carelessness for human life of the French General Staff. The excuse, upon which the Great Chancellor insists, was a realistic novel called "La Garçonne," the story of a girl who was led into vicious ways, from which she finally emerged to find peace and contentment in an honest life. Victor Margueritte went into detail in describing the errors of his heroine's misspent years. As Anatole France put it, he described "the society created by the war and pictured the degradation which among the *nouveaux-riches* went to extremes. The infinite evils of a long war produced abominable habits, which the moralist ought to describe." Margueritte also indulged in a few acrid reflections on post-war society. The Great Chancellor of the Legion of Honor was horrified. He summoned Margueritte to appear before him and defend his book if he could. Victor Margueritte refused, adding to his refusal a few well-chosen insults addressed to the kind of men who have in recent years found it possible to buy the red ribbon of the Legion. The Legion thereupon went through the precious nonsense of scratching Victor Margueritte's name from its lists, adding one more chapter to the history of Sumnerism in France, Flaubert, Jean Richepin, and Baudelaire being among Margueritte's most distinguished companions in censorship.

Meanwhile Victor Margueritte's book has been selling mightily. That is the usual effect of persecution and censorship. If the Allies really had hanged the Kaiser they would have achieved what all the German monarchists failed to do: they would have made of him a hero. The Great Chancellor of the Legion of Honor doubtless took huge satisfaction in using an ink eraser on Victor Margueritte's name, but Margueritte will not suffer by it.

Fair Harvard?

SOME of Harvard's graduates have responded with a vim to President Lowell's denial of the black man's right to share in democracy. Congressman Hamilton Fish, of the Class of 1910, a former Harvard football captain who was an officer of a Negro regiment during the war, writes:

> It was good enough then in defense of our country to sleep alongside of our colored comrades, but it seems too much now to ask undergraduates even to live under the same roof with cultured Negroes, although separated by partitions. This is not the spirit of democracy; it is not the spirit of New England. And it is not the spirit of Harvard.

One of Harvard's most distinguished graduates of Civil War days writes that it is "shameful cowardice" to

> accept dictation from the narrow-minded advocates of a prejudice which was never reasonable, even when it was prevalent, and which has long since become antiquated, effete, and (I had supposed) lifeless. . . . If any young man should decline to come because of his prejudice against some possible comrade I should say that the college was well rid of so narrow-minded a youth. If he is logical he will feel obliged even to get out of the very world itself, which he must find open to the same objection.

And John Jay Chapman, Class of 1884, went to the very root of Mr. Lowell's mental confusion when he said:

> So far as "living with Negroes" is concerned, the Southern students and their parents have no objection to it. They are entirely accustomed to it, and they like the Negro. If any white parent tells President Lowell that he cannot bear the thought of his son's sleeping in a room which abuts on the same quadrangle with a Negro's room, or eating in the same dining-hall with a Negro, that parent deceives Mr. Lowell. What the Southern parent demands is that some stigma be put upon the Negro. He wishes Harvard to hang out a flag discriminating against the black man.

There is the point. Harvard, so long as it follows President Lowell's lead in this matter, is accepting and preaching the Southern doctrine that every man with Negro blood in his veins is inferior to every all-white man. It is not true; Booker Washington, on whom Harvard was proud to confer an honorary degree in 1896, and a score of other Negroes have stood out among Harvard graduates. There is a kind of boarding-house snobbery in Mr. Lowell's policy which fits ill the distinction which has been Harvard's.

In fairness to Harvard it must be added that it is the very glamor of her tradition which has exposed her to so much public attack. From the days when Robert Gould Shaw, of the Class of 1860, marched to his death at the head of the first Massachusetts Negro regiment in the Civil War, Harvard and Harvard men have stood out in the struggle to make real the implications of the Emancipation Proclamation. Other colleges, like Princeton, to their shame, make no pretense at democracy, and bar Negroes altogether. Harvard still welcomes Negroes to most of her dormitories and eating-halls, as do most other Northern colleges. It is only in the freshman halls, where residence is (for white men) theoretically compulsory (there is not room enough for all) that the color line is drawn. But to draw it anywhere is to raise the black flag of race discrimination. You do not have to slap a man in the face for more than one year to make plain your contempt for him. Harvard owes it to herself, to a magnificent New England tradition, and to American democracy to refuse to make any racial discrimination, anywhere, at any time.

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Coaching Europe from the Grandstand

(The Nation's Weekly Washington Letter)

By WILLIAM HARD

Cartoons by ART YOUNG

Washington, January 23

THE big story in Washington just now is that in Washington's present theme of thought—namely European affairs—there is really no story at all.

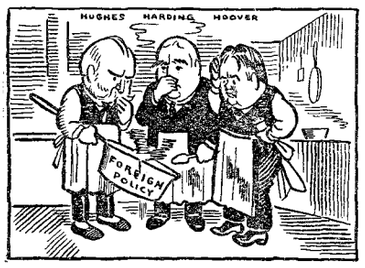
Washington is perpetrating a colossal and a calamitous fraud upon the world. It is giving the world the impression that in Washington somewhere and somehow there is a story, a positive story, of "help" for Europe. I contend that there is not. I contend that the most important and most useful story that Washington could send out to the world would be the entirely negative story that in no existing European meaning of the word "help" is there any help for Europe in Washington.

The President: *"Say, Charlie, what would you do if you didn't know what to do?"*

Mr. Hughes: *"Do as I do. Don't do it."*

Washington at present is giving its mind to Europe in just about the way in which the people in a grandstand at a baseball game give their minds to the game. The public men in the Washington grandstand intend—some of them—to applaud the European players. They intend—some of them—to insult the European players. They intend to cheer—or jeer—the French pitcher or the German batter. They intend to have a wonderful time telling one another how they would play second base if they were playing second base.

In fact they intend to do more than to tell it to one another. They intend to tell it to the second baseman. Some of them—sitting in or near the State Department section of the grandstand—intend to tell it to him in tones which they hope the world will hear.



This ardent participation in the coaching of the game produces an illusion of participation in the game itself. It leads the Europeans to think that we are at any rate preparing to participate. They imagine us as European players. They do not grasp the fact that what we are is European fans.

In the Presidential section of our grandstand there is a most genuinely sincere sympathy for Europe. I think I can with certainty say that if any group of European players would walk across the field and step up to the Presidential box and ask for a little talk with the President, why, the President, without of course leaving the Presidential box and without undertaking any obligation to enter the pitcher's box and above all without any commitment to anything to be done in the box office, would feel it his duty to grant the little talk. In our meaning of the word help the little talk would be help.

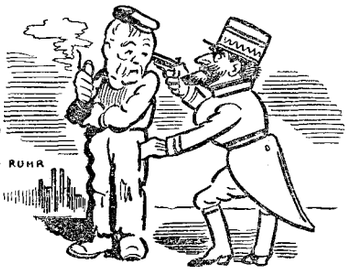
Now, however, from the State Department section of our grandstand, through our ambassadors in European capitals, and through our special representative Mr. Boyden in Paris, and through our special representative Mr. Child at Lausanne, has come so much and such contradictory coaching that European players are beginning to make a certain little query heard in Washington. They say: "Suppose that we march across the field and present ourselves before your Secretary of State. Suppose that we address him as follows:

"'Mr. Secretary, we have done all those things which in your admirable direct and indirect communications to us you have suggested our doing. We have reduced our expenditures on uniforms till now we have virtually no uniforms at all. We have gone into the box office and have reduced the issuing of rain-checks till now our paper liabilities are next to nothing. We have gone in for sentiments of neighborliness till now, as you see, our French players and our German players are standing before you, their arms affectionately thrown about one another's shoulders—a posture which they are willing to maintain indefinitely if maintaining it will commend them to you. We hope it will. We now are solvent and we now are peaceful. We now have done all those things which you thought and said would make us worthy of American help. We now accordingly have come to get it. We are here. Yes, Mr. Secretary, here we are. Name the help and we will take it and thank you.'

"At that moment what would your Secretary of State say?"

At that moment, so far as I can make out, he would have to say:

"Gentlemen, I am deeply touched by your solvency and by your peaceful bearing. I venture to point out to you that since solvency and peacefulness were the only two things essential to your success, and since solvency and peacefulness were the things that we urged you to acquire in order to deserve our help, and since you now have solvency and now have peacefulness, you happily both deserve our help and happily stand in no need of it.



A month ago: *"France Says Germany Wants to Fight."*

Today: *"France Warns Germany to Stop Being Non-Resistant."*

"However, if you are thinking further of money, I refer you to Mr. Morgan. He told you a long time ago that he

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would let you have some if you would do certain things. You should do those things and see him.

"However, further, if it happens that you are thinking of American governmental money or of American governmental political or military guaranties, I refer you to the Senate. You will find the Senate at the other end of the grandstand separated from me and the President by a high partition in which there are few apertures. I cannot do anything for you in the way of rewarding your compliance with my advice unless the Senate does it, and I have no idea what the Senate will do.

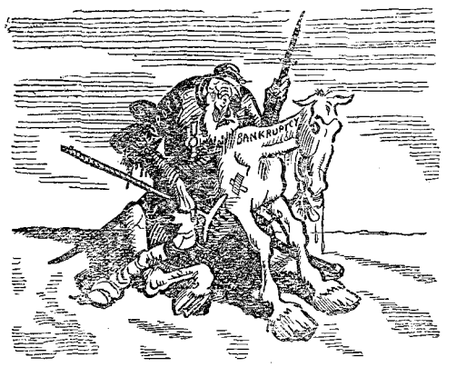
"However, again, I wish you well. I have always hoped that any foreign country that listened to the American State Department would get well paid for it by the American Senate. Right to the right!"

Proceeding in that direction and arriving in front of the Senatorial section of our grandstand, our visitors would there behold the index-finger of the right hand of Senator Johnson of California being waved up and down before the noses of his fellow-Senators in accompaniment to his present truculent continuous speech as follows:

"You some of you want to join the League of Nations. You some of you want to go to international conferences separate from the League. You want to go into rooms and put your feet under tables. Very well. Let us assume the tables and the feet. Now let us proceed. There is a piece of paper on the table. On that piece of paper you are to put down—you will have to put down—just what it is that you propose to do—actually to do—in Europe. Now, what is it? I ask, and I ask again, and I never stop asking: What?"

In reply to that question few Senators have any answer at all. Some of them—Borah, for instance—are able to give an answer. These answers, however, are various and there is not one of them that could command a majority in the Senate on a vote.

The Senate, like the President, and like the Secretary of State, desires simply to tell Europe how to play. If the Europeans then play as we tell them to play, we will in return do nothing. If they refuse to play as we tell them to play, we will then again in return do nothing. In either case—in the present mood of the Senate—the Europeans will get from us not one ounce of American governmental action.

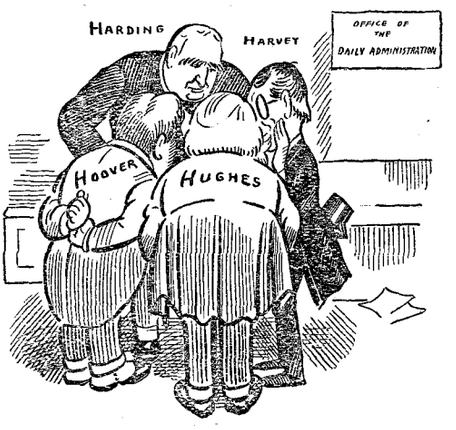


Onward Crippled Soldier.

In these circumstances it would certainly seem to be vain to talk of helping Europe or of hurting it, of persuading it or of coercing it. The Senate intends to give Europe no rewards and no retributions. It will collect the European debts from Europe not according to Europe's conduct but solely according to Europe's capacity. It hopes that Europe's conduct will be good. It has no visible intention whatsoever of promoting or of confirming that European good conduct by any visible, tangible benefits from America.

This being the case, would it not be a friendly act to Europe if we obliterated the word "help" from our diplomatic vocabulary?

Our situation is that in relation to this European game we are not yet a team. We are partisan fans of various conflicting European factions and of various conflicting European policies. We look at the game with immense emotional interest and with great technical interest too. We appreciate the plays and have opinions about the players. But the United States Senate would not today conceivably arrive at a solidified American policy toward Europe in the sense in which the British House of Commons arrived the other day at a solidified British policy toward Europe under the accepted leadership of Bonar Law and irrespective of domestic political party differences. The British in relation to the European game are thoroughly a team. I fail to see how anybody can have acquaintance among United States Senators and dream that we Americans in relation to that game are yet a team. We are pro-French. We are pro-German. We are pro-British. We are pro-Italian. We are pro-Russian. If the United States Senate was thrown into Europe, it would split up into almost as many fragments as there are countries in Europe to love and to hate. If we went down today out of the grandstand into the playing field we would play a British game or a German game or a French game or an Italian game or a Russian game but not a European game or an American game. Instinct, therefore, keeps us in the grandstand. It keeps us out of a game in which we do not yet know our own national play and have not yet achieved our own national organization and discipline. That is the actual state of things—desirable or regrettable. Washington has no American policy of action in or toward Europe. Having none it might at least send a circular note to all the European Powers and say:



Ambassador Harvey gives the Administration all the news that's fit to whisper.

"In ideas we may at times be valuable to you and in conferences you may at times—and in fact will—find us suggestive, but when it comes to overt acts of help or hurt please remember that as a country we think nothing, plan nothing, intend nothing."

WILLIAM HARD'S

second letter discussing events and people in Washington will appear in next week's issue of

THE NATION

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Do Women Want Protection?

Wrapping Women in Cotton-Wool

By HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH

A CROSS-SECTION of a cake made by a housewife economical of her hand-picked raisins would fairly represent the recent conference held in Washington by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. The press announced it would be "made up of women workers from all sections of the country." However, Miss Alice Robinson, evidently doubtful as to the number of labor plums in the confection, asked the working women among the three hundred delegates to rise. A scant baker's dozen revealed themselves!

In order to weigh fairly the action of the Woman's Bureau, let us suppose the Department of Labor had called a conference to consider the needs of industrial men. If Secretary Davis had followed the example of Miss Anderson he would have summoned the General Federation of Men's Clubs, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Men's Christian Temperance Union, the American Association of University Men, the Sons of the American Revolution, the National Society of the Sons of 1812, and the American Legion! Mr. Gompers, no doubt, would have accused the Department of suffering from an inferiority complex.

The risible faculty of outsiders was further tickled by the idea of a conference on protective legislation for the daughters of Eve alone being called at a time when ten million men have fallen in war, when the lives of men only are exposed in extra-hazardous trades, and when a higher mortality rate reigns for male than female infants. "I'd like to see men wrapped in cotton-wool, that's what I'd like to see," was the criticism of the conference by an industrial woman. She was twenty. If I were her age, I, too, would favor wrapping men in protective laws, in the interest of the race and my own right to happiness.

Welfare workers always seem to think of industrial women as spavined, broken-backed creatures, and the sons of Adam as tireless, self-reliant, unionized supermen. Neither estimate is correct. Both need the protective aegis of the state. There are sex contrasts in susceptibility to occupational disease. Men are more open to tuberculosis, consequently, in processes where humidity is great, more men than women succumb. Excluding men from the linen industry is not the solution. Bend the industry to the need of the human being, not the human being to economy in safety devices. The average man is an overworked animal, and his fatigue tells on the race. A leading obstetrician in New York declares that in his practice nine times out of ten when he is called upon to diagnose the cause of sterility in the American family, he finds the trouble in the overwork of the professional or business man.

The objection to special legislation is not on the ground that no protection is necessary, but because partial laws have not protected men and have thrown women out of employment or crowded them into lower grades of work. Then, too, linking women with minors as is the rule in protective legislation forwarded by welfare workers has been a marked disadvantage in checking child labor. Legislatures would do more for children if adult women ceased to hang on their necks. This view of factory legislation was excluded from the conference. The only persons allowed on the platform in opposition to special legislation were three employers. Working women and organizations against such laws on quite other grounds than those appealing to the "boss" were excluded from the program.

The reveries of the conference meandered mainly toward two goals—minimum-wage laws for women and the closing of industry to mothers. Secretary Davis megaphoned the order: "Take out of industry those mothers with babes to care for," and Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge echoed the command and added that the ejected mothers "must be supported out of their husband's earnings." It is humbly suggested that all mothers are not married, that husbands sometimes are unemployed, and that, occasionally, a kindly fate allows them to escape from the propagandist into the grave. For a few hours it was thought the woman might support herself and children with factory work in the home. But that way out was closed as soon as Mrs. Florence Kelley took the rostrum. Home work—not the unpaid variety—was denounced. Mother was left in limbo.

It is comforting to awake from the nightmare of the Washington Conference to the realities of government reports. In the British report on "Women in Industry," (1919), Miss Martindale, Senior Lady Inspector in the Midland District, says that expectant mothers "generally speaking do not seem to suffer harm from working in factories," and Clementina Black adds "The greatest assistance to maternity is for women to be earning good wages." The famous Birmingham, England, investigation (1919) reaches the conclusion that poverty is more injurious to the child than the employment of the mother, and the Manchester, New Hampshire, investigation (1917) declares that the employment of the mother may "add to the disadvantages which the baby suffers on account of poverty or mitigate them according to whether the loss of the mother's care is offset or not by the added income." Perhaps the wisest solution of the problem is that the state should offer to pay the mother of small children the equivalent of the wage she is earning, and allow her to choose whether she will remain at home and take the pension, or refuse it and continue her gainful pursuit.

The Washington Conference was as emphatic on the wisdom of a minimum wage as it was on the disposal of the married worker. But in the exhaustive study issued by Columbia University on "Women's Wages" (1919), we read in regard to the working of the minimum wage in Australia: "On the whole question of the influence of wage legislation on the wage scale, great caution must be used in interpreting results. . . . Conflicting evidence or complete lack of evidence marks almost every point in the controversy."

Instead of wasting energy carrying on an internecine war, it might be well if those believing in protective legislation should unite on this program: First, the total exclusion of children from industry up to sixteen. Second, the drastic limitation of the hours of young people. Third, the raising of our code dealing with occupational diseases to the level of civilized communities. Fourth, the adoption of Mrs. Sidney Webb's recommendation in the Minority Report of the War Cabinet Committee, "the consolidation of the Factory Acts should be made the occasion of sweeping away

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all special provisions of differentiating men from women." Working women are ready for equality. It is the welfare worker who holds up to them the inferiority complex.

What Is Equality?

By CLARA MORTENSON BEYER

THOSE who subscribe to the program of absolute equality between the sexes could derive small comfort from the national industrial conference recently held by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. Of the 360 delegates from 41 States representing all national women's organizations with the exception of the Woman's Party, only a handful were ready to support the program of industrial equality for men and women. Unfortunately, the Woman's Party refused to send delegates to the conference solely because the chairman refused to make a special exception in its case and give it, as an organization, a place on the program. Speakers were selected not because they belonged to a certain organization but because of their knowledge of women in industry.

Whether the Woman's Party was officially represented or not, its point of view on industrial legislation was expressed by two of the speakers: Miss Merica Hoagland, of the Diamond Chain and Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis, and Mr. Charles Cheney, of Cheney Brothers, silk manufacturers of Connecticut. These speakers opposed industrial legislation for women as an interference with their property rights and their freedom of contract and an unnecessary discrimination against them in the labor market. There is nothing new nor startling in this position. Ever since the first labor legislation was enacted, employers have valiantly defended before the courts the freedom of contract and property rights of their workers. And, upon occasion, the judges take them seriously. Witness the recent decision of the District Court of Appeals on the minimum-wage law in the District of Columbia, in which the majority of the Court held that "no greater calamity could befall the wage-earners of this country than to have the legislative power to fix wages upheld. It would deprive them of the most sacred safeguard which the Constitution affords. Take from the citizen the right to freely contract and sell his labor for the highest wage which his individual skill and efficiency will command, and the laborer would be reduced to an automaton."

The Woman's Party takes the position that industrial legislation for women is discrimination against them in the field of industry. At present, it does not consider it feasible to wipe out such legislation for women. Therefore, in order to remove existing inequalities between the sexes, it proposes to extend industrial legislation for women to men. For all practical purposes, it might better work directly for the removal of such legislation for women. The effect, in all probability, would be the same in either case—women would be left without the safeguards which are peculiarly necessary to their well-being and men would be in exactly the same position as before. In the words of Dean Roscoe Pound, of the Harvard Law School, "there is no surer method of repealing all legal protection for women than to substitute for the laws now in force general statutes covering all persons." Therefore, when the advocates of equality in industry accuse their opponents of being selfish and unwilling to share with men the advantages to be derived from protective legislation, the answer is that their opponents are advised by competent jurists that it is the part of foolishness to be generous in this respect, at least for years to come. Working women have the world to lose and nothing to gain but their chains. They have lost these chains all too recently to be willing to be shackled again merely for the sake of a theoretical equality.

The Woman's Party, as a result of a recent questionnaire, is rapidly proving, to its own satisfaction at least, that working women do not want protective legislation. When convinced of that, how can it hope to prove that working men want for themselves the legislation scorned by working women and, if the Woman's Party so proves, would it, as an organization, in the name of equality attempt to force the unwilling working women to accept legal standards satisfactory only to their brothers? Does "equality" deny women the right to differ from men?

Women cannot be made men by act of legislature or even by an amendment to the United States Constitution. That does not mean women are inferior or superior to men. Refusal to recognize the biological differences between men and women does not make for equality. Until the earth is populated with Mr. Shaw's Ancients, women will continue to bear children and certain physiological corollaries to this fact will continue to exist. Exposure to strain and overfatigue in the child-bearing period, and wage-earning women are almost all in this period of life, is reflected in higher morbidity of working women than of working men, and in the excessive sickness and death-rate of children of working mothers. That long hours of constant standing or sitting are more injurious to women than to men is another well-established fact. These actualities may not be pleasant to our feminist friends, but they will not be removed by playing ostrich. Students of industry recognize that women are an unstable factor in industry, that the majority enter industry to fill the gap between school and marriage. They are, on the whole, unskilled workers. Because of their instability, their lack of skill, and their extreme youth, trade-union organization among women has been of slow growth, far slower than among men. Working conditions among women reflect this inability to organize. It was said at the women's industrial conference that 1,000 men were working the eight-hour day to every one woman. Over one-half of the wage-earning women of the country are earning less than enough to live on. Trade-union organizers familiar with these facts are advocating industrial legislation for women on the ground that unionism among them is too slow and has not reached the vast rank and file. They have further found that industrial legislation for women is a help rather than a hindrance to organization. We cannot expect overworked, under-nourished women to have the energy or enthusiasm for joining a union and attempting to better their conditions. While the masses of women workers are so far down the industrial scale, it is ludicrous to talk of their freedom to choose their occupations, to bargain freely for their wages and hours of work. It would be more to the point to talk of the freedom of employers to exploit their workers.

By legislation an effort is being made to bring women up to the point where industrial equality with men is more nearly possible. The time undoubtedly will come when women will need less special legislation than they do now, but until that time it is little short of criminal to deny them the opportunity for reasonable leisure and a living wage, which legislation alone can obtain for them.

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The Pot and the Kettle in Porto Rico

By ARTHUR WARNER

(The Nation's Special Correspondent in the Caribbean)

San Juan, January 10

"A TOTAL loss and no insurance." That was the first opinion expressed to me here of E. Mont Reily as Governor of Porto Rico, and after studying his record and taking other testimony one finds little deviation from this judgment and no reason to dissent from it. In the same breath one should add that his opponents in the Unionist Party do not deserve to be rated one whit better.

To say that Governor Reily has been a bull in a china-shop would be inexact. He is abundantly capable of playing the role, but he has not done so in Porto Rico for the reason that it was not a china-shop in which he was turned loose. On the contrary, he found himself upon arrival in a carefully prepared arena, with skilful and experienced toreadors and matadors in waiting who have been goading and spearing him as he rampaged about pawing the dust, bellowing loudly, and occasionally getting his horns so close to one of his tormentors that the latter has had to retire from the field with an aperture in the seat of his trousers. And, as always, the public has had to pay the price in money, in wasted energy, and in the demoralization which such spectacles engender.

When the United States came to Porto Rico twenty-five years ago there were two political parties in existence, in accordance with the division in Spain. In addition there was a junta in New York City working for independence. After the United States took over the island in 1898 most of those who had been standing for independence or autonomy welcomed the new government, and a new group calling itself the Republican Party organized on the Fourth of July, 1899, with a platform calling for a territorial government forthwith and eventually for statehood. Four years later this group became affiliated with the Republican Party of the United States. Apparently there was a too hasty and ill-advised effort to "Americanize" Porto Rico overnight, the reaction from which, together with dissension among the Republicans, led in 1904 to the organization of the Unionist Party. It gained political control of the island that same year and has held it ever since.

At the outset the Unionists adopted what was known as the "five-cornered program." That is, they set forth five alternative forms of government for Porto Rico, one of which was independence. In the early days Independence Corner was not a busy one. No crowds collected there and no policemen were necessary to regulate traffic, but eventually conditions changed, and in the election of 1920, while the Republicans stuck to statehood as their political goal, the Unionists made independence their dominant slogan. Perhaps one would better say they made it their chief bait; for few believe that those who control the Unionist Party have any use for independence except as a means of stirring the simple passions of the masses, of whom 55 per cent are illiterate and 90 per cent unable to speak English.

The Unionists' group numbers among its adherents most of the intellectuals of the island, including many high-minded and public-spirited men, but it is also the party of money, power, and privilege. Its financial support comes from the great planters and the big employers and, true to politics the world over, its job is to conserve their interests. Now, commercially speaking, independence would bring ruin to Porto Rico. Take sugar, the basic industry of the island. At present it enters the markets of the United States free while that of Cuba and other competitors has to pay a customs duty. Independence would put an end to this advantage and, owing to the greater productivity of the Cuban fields, it is generally conceded that the Porto Rican planters would be driven to the wall.

Although the demand for independence seems to be vaporous and unreal, the anti-American feeling is real and earnest. Since the Republican Party in Porto Rico has always regarded itself, and been regarded, as the American party, the Unionist Party has been the gravitating point for any contrary sentiment; but this attitude did not reach disquieting proportions until the election of 1920.

One of the aspects of that campaign was the widespread display of what is known as the One-Star Flag. This banner was adopted originally by the independence junta in New York City in 1895. The design is that of the flag of Cuba, but the arrangement of the red, white, and blue is different. With the collapse of the Spanish regime the reason for the flag seemed to disappear and for a good many years thereafter it was rarely seen. What it stands for today is a disputed question. Some hold that it is like the State flags in continental America. Others insist that now, as originally, it is a symbol of independence. In any event the revival of its use is significant, and the situation has been intensified by injudicious attempts to prevent its display.

In spite of the equivocal position of the Unionist Party, all the Governors of the island worked with it for sixteen years subsequent to its organization in 1904—because it represented the majority of the voters of the island. Governor Yager, who held office during President Wilson's Administration, deferred especially to the party, and toward the end of his term, owing to sickness, is said virtually to have surrendered the reins of government to Antonio R. Barceló, president of the Senate and leader of the Unionists. The passage in 1917 of the Jones Bill, familiarly known in Porto Rico as "Bill Jones," gave a large measure of autonomy, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Cayetano Coll y Cuchí, publicly declared that under the act his party could control or break any Governor sent to the island. Admittedly, therefore, conditions in Porto Rico reached a situation of great delicacy, if not a crisis, with the triumph of the Unionist Party in the autumn of 1920, when it polled 126,000 votes to 63,000 cast for the Republicans and 59,000 given to the Socialists.

Comes now upon the scene one E. Mont Reily of Kansas City, Missouri. From the Front Porch in Marion, Ohio, sprang the quaint idea of sending as Governor of what is in fact, if not in law, a foreign country in a time of acute political tension a provincial politician unversed in foreign affairs, unacquainted with Latin-American life, temperament, or ideas, ignorant of the Spanish language, whose idea was to "clean up" Porto Rico as they "mopped up" the trenches in France during the war. Beyond the fact that he had been trained for the American colonial service by a

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term as park commissioner and later as assistant postmaster in his home town on the Big Muddy, nobody seemed to know much of Mr. Reily. According to his own version he was the "original Harding man," the idea of the Senator from Ohio as President having come to him in a dream. Mr. Reily was one of the managers of the pre-convention campaign for Mr. Harding, and perhaps the latter thought he could send his helper to Porto Rico and forget him. If so, Mr. Harding knows better now. The appointment was greeted with enthusiasm hardly anywhere unless in the home of E. Mont Reily, and the Kansas City *Star* openly made fun of it. When the Kansas City *Star* fails to support a Republican appointment in its own town the man must be either a mighty poor stick or a remarkably good one. There had been nothing in Mr. Reily's career to suggest the latter contingency.

Previous to arrival Mr. Reily struck fire in Porto Rico by some incredibly fatuous and tactless utterances. At least he was quoted as saying that he would make English the language of the schools (implying that he would suppress in them the only idiom known to nine-tenths of the people) and that he would end the display of the One-Star Flag. His inaugural address upon arrival in July, 1921, was much more moderate. He declared himself in favor of woman suffrage and statehood for the island, and in regard to the use of English observed: "I hope to see the language of Washington, Lincoln, and Harding taught equally with that of Spanish in our public schools, and that all other languages shall be secondary." To the substance of this no possible exception can be taken, but the naive association of the language of Harding with that of Lincoln and Washington is a fair measure of the caliber of Mr. Reily.

Whatever the character of Governor Reily's inaugural address, the Unionists had apparently determined in advance to object to it. Their official organ, *La Democracia,* opened fire directly on the new Executive, but in spite of this when the Governor had occasion to make his first appointment to office Mr. Barceló, the Unionists' leader, followed the usual party custom and submitted three names from which Mr. Reily was supposed to make his selection. It must be admitted that Mr. Reily was justified in thinking it difficult to work with a party that had assumed the Unionists' extreme position in regard to independence, and he had good reason to resent the cool dictation of his appointments by men who at the same time were waging a press campaign against him. It was enough to make a better diplomat than Mr. Reily fighting mad. Yet the Legislature was in the hands of the Unionists and the Governor was largely in the hands of the Legislature. Under the Jones Act the Governor, if supported by the President of the United States, has an absolute veto upon all legislation, but he has no power to initiate it whatever. Also he can make appointments only with the "advice and consent" of the Porto Rican Senate. Mr. Reily's only hope, therefore, was to play his cards with supreme adroitness. Instead, he wrote a blustering letter to Mr. Barceló in which he said:

> You must sever your connection with the Independence Party [the correct name is the Unionist Party] and become a loyal Porto-Rican American or we cannot have any friendly political relations. . . . The plan of the politicians here has been to control and to break any Governor that has been sent to this island. This same old system is now being tried out on me. I hope all concerned here understand now it will not work on me.

Then the fat was in the fire and sputtering all over the island. Mr. Barceló started for Washington to begin a campaign for the Governor's recall—the first leg in an almost perpetual sailing to and fro that has kept Porto Rico in a ferment.

As time went on a feeling became pronounced among the Unionists that they had gone too far in their independence program. So they met in convention in February, 1922, and purged themselves by a resolution declaring for "the creation in Porto Rico of a free state, people, or community associated with the United States of America." But at the same time they continued their attack upon Governor Reily, bringing charges against him of withdrawing public money contrary to law. The sum named was trifling, $6,000, and the political animus was evident. Nevertheless, Governor Reily ought to have insisted that he be either cleared or convicted. Instead he removed the district attorney who had the case in hand on charges that sounded stagy and appointed another man. This official did not press the charges to trial, or even to indictment, but personally assumed the role of vindicator, making public a statement in which he exonerated the Governor.

Meanwhile Mr. Reily made the greatest blunder of his administration. Hitherto he may have been tactless and absurd but he had at least been consistent and, in principle, commonly right. In March of 1922, however, he had an all-day conference with Mr. Barceló, the Unionist leader, as a result of which the word was passed round that they had buried the hatchet. Mr. Barceló, it was reported, had agreed to drop the charges before the grand jury and the fight for the Governor's removal at Washington, while Mr. Reily had capitulated to the Unionists in regard to appointive offices. As a public sign of reconciliation the two men walked side by side in a funeral procession a few days later. The program of reconciliation was never carried out, and shortly thereafter the truce ended and war began again. But Governor Reily was hopelessly compromised. A letter was issued in behalf of the Republican Party, which hitherto had supported the Governor through thick and thin, in which it was pointed out that the move could "have no other meaning but that you wanted peace at any price and that you were anxious that the fight here and in Washington should be discontinued." Likewise the continental Americans, who nominally regard it almost as a religion to stick by the Governor, gagged at this last mouthful, and a considerable number followed the lead of *Porto Rico Progress* in declaring that Governor Reily's usefulness in Porto Rico was over. However, the Republicans continued to give Mr. Reily their support and the Socialists, led by Santiago Iglesias, have stood with them. Senator Iglesias admits that Governor Reily has never said or done anything to suggest sympathy with socialism. But for the present the Socialists, whose strength already equals and promises soon to surpass that of the Republicans, think it good tactics to work more or less with the latter to undermine the dominant Unionists.

So the situation stands. Governor Reily has failed, but even among those who realize this a substantial number are opposed to his recall. They say that if the Unionists had worked quietly in Washington they could have obtained Governor Reily's retirement before now. As it is, they feel that his withdrawal would be a victory for the Unionists so obvious as to put the reins of government completely in their hands. Reilyism, they admit, has been a pest; unrestrained Unionism, they think, would be a plague.

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Suffrage and the French Senate

By IDA TREAT O'NEIL

Paris, December 1

DEMOCRACY, in one of its most cherished functions, had a bad quarter of an hour during the recent debate on woman suffrage in the French Senate. Staunch supporters of the republic vied with each other in painting black pictures of the "sink of politics" and the grim arena of electoral struggles. A listener was led to think that a victory at the polls is a question of mere physical superiority, and that the safest equipment for a voter would be a sand-bag and a pair of "knucks." No Communist could have done better; and, in addition, the honorable gentlemen offered an excellent opportunity for observing at close range at least two of the more glaring defects of the parliamentary system: an inexhaustible verbalism, and a constant preoccupation with the problem of how best to preserve a seat in parliament. The latter factor formed the true basis of the whole suffrage discussion. From the point of view of next year's elections it is easy to understand why the reactionary elements in the Senate were in favor of extending suffrage to women, and why the majority of the liberals put up a determined opposition. The conservative Right, whose electoral prospects grow daily less brilliant, counted on the women's vote to keep its members in office. At the Center and Left of the Senate, the members of the Radical Party, equally convinced that the women's vote would be conservative, saw the shadow of that traditional enemy the "curé" loom black behind their senatorial chairs. In so far as the Senate was concerned, the problem of woman suffrage in 1922 differed in no respect from that of 1919 when the Chamber, in a burst of what the Senate today terms "post-war hysteria," passed the suffrage bill a few weeks previous to the November elections. The all-important question of the next elections did not, of course, figure openly in the debate on woman suffrage, but I dare say there was not a person on the floor of the Senate or in the tribunes who did not understand the real issue at stake. I have yet to meet a reader of the daily press or the more explicit *Journal Officiel* who was deceived as to the true value of the arguments for or against woman suffrage as presented by the French Senators.

The general tone of the discussion may be gathered from a quotation taken from the report of the senatorial commission. "A woman's hand," stated the reporter of the commission, "was never meant to be armed with a ballot. It was made rather to be kissed." As the words were read from the tribune, I could not resist stealing a glance at the capable hands of a woman member of the Paris bar who sat beside me in the gallery of the Senate. She caught my look. "That would be galling enough if it really stood for anything," she remarked. "But everyone knows it is merely a question of votes." A young man in the row behind us was more emphatic. "There is your dictatorship of terrible old men," he whispered, leaning forward. "That is what happens when a man of seventy becomes the spokesman for our generation. We men had enough of that during the war—now it is the turn of you women. . . ." Someone in our vicinity overheard his words and hissed "Socialist!" in no complimentary tone. "*Parfaitement,*" the young man replied, "but does that alter the facts?"

During the days of debate on the suffrage bill, one had many an opportunity in which to ponder his words. There were times when, in the heavy, still air of the Luxembourg Palace, one had the suffocating impression of sitting in a museum listening to men of another century miraculously come to life. Here they were still discussing the problems of the Council of Trent: Has woman a soul? Has she a mind? Is she, or is she not, a creature of emotions, slave to her instincts, and condemned to an eternal tutelage? The paradoxes presented are familiar to suffragists in all countries:

"Look at woman," said the Senators in the language of the Academy, punctuated with quotations from the wise men of all ages from Aristotle to De Vigny by way of St. Paul, not forgetting Eve and the apple. "Look at woman. All that is good, all that is morally elevating in our society is due to her (Applause). She must be preserved from all contact with the sordidness of public life." "Look at woman. Can she be said to have a moral sense? She is sly, petty, unintelligent. She cannot reason—she generalizes. She arrives at an idea through an emotion. Think of the effect on a parliament of women of an orator like Jaurès!" (Horrified exclamations.)

"Women have no inclination for politics. They are interested in fashions rather than army and taxes. In countries where women have been granted the vote, few have taken advantage of the privilege." "Women would sacrifice everything to politics. In Finland, the situation is deplorable. The women spend all their time away from home; neglect their husbands, neglect their children. In Sweden conditions are so bad that the women can't find husbands in their own country and are forced to marry—Germans! In America, the vote has sown wholesale discord in the families; homes have been broken up. In Oregon, there are 980 divorces for 720 marriages. . . ."

"If women had the ballot, they would be ultra-conservative. In France, the curé would be dictator. In America, the States where there were women voters were the last to vote dry." "If women had the ballot, they would vote for the Communists. In America, the women's vote is responsible for prohibition, to the detriment of the country's real interests."

"As for services rendered by women during the recent war, we must not forget that four million Frenchmen faced death for four years, and today these men do not ask us to pay them for having done their duty!" "So long as war exists, women will never have equal responsibility to the state. Maternity is no substitute for military service. 'You cannot compare one who goes to meet death with one who goes to meet—love!'" (Thunders of applause.)

The fact that all countries in Europe except France, Italy, and Spain have granted suffrage to women is merely another indication of the superiority of the ancient Latin civilization. "The abuses of the Middle Ages and the absolutism of marital authority disappeared long ago in France, the country of courteous love, in Italy, the country of gallant love, in Spain, the country of chivalry. Feminism is the product of the excesses of Northern men! . . ."

The fear of the domination of women in the home and in politics found an echo in the speeches of even the advocates

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of suffrage. There are eighteen hundred thousand more women in France than men. Of the men voters, scarcely half the number registered voted at the last elections and there is talk of making the act of voting compulsory. In view of the situation, nearly all the Senators who favor the extension of suffrage to women were of the opinion that only women over thirty should be given the ballot. One member suggested that women be made eligible to office but not be permitted to vote. The Senators grew particularly irritable over the question of marital authority "so diminished since the war"—France being one of the few countries today having obedience to the husband as an article of the civil code. The French feminists, according to several of the speakers, consider with envy the "indiscipline" of the American women, and long for an equality in the home that would be the ruin of marriage, which is an institution that "cannot exist if one of the contracting parties is not subordinate to the other."

The question of the birth-rate, which has grown particularly poignant since the war, was not forgotten in the discussion. Suffrage, it was argued, will diminish the number of cradles; feminists do not want children. I was reminded of a conversation overheard not long ago in a group of men, most of whom are still unmarried at thirty, and who are supposed to represent the most advanced social thought of France. They expressed themselves as opposed to the participation of women in society and politics. "Woman must return to her primitive role," they stated. "She must stay at home and bear children and care for them. Otherwise the race is doomed. Let her have fifteen children, even if seven of them die for want of sufficient care or nourishment. Those who resist will make for a strong race. We can get along without women in the domain of the spirit!" The "terrible old men" had much the same idea, but they expressed it more elegantly.

Throughout the debate, however, it was constantly apparent that the real problem before the Senate was not one of suffrage. As one listened to the contradictory arguments by which the speakers attempted to prove the undesirability of the measure, conviction grew that—as the woman lawyer had remarked—the arguments themselves had little real importance and the majority of the Senators had reasons of their own for opposing the granting of the ballot to women.

On November 21 the Senate disposed of the suffrage bill by voting not to proceed to the discussion of the articles. When the result of the vote was announced, there was a stir in the gallery of the Senate. "Vive la république quand même!" shouted a prominent woman member of the League for the Rights of Women. Although the words were ironical rather than seditious, she was promptly evicted by a zealous huissier. The majority against the suffrage measure was slight (156 to 134) and a movement is already afoot to introduce a new bill in the Chamber, but the machinery of parliamentary action is cumbersome and it is probable that the "terrible old men" of the Senate will not be troubled by a "feminine revolution" before the next elections.

As for the real question of woman suffrage in France, if one may form an opinion from the November debate in the Senate, I am inclined to agree with M. Estournelles de Constant when he informed his fellow-Senators that "in other countries, there is another attitude toward women than the one prevailing in France; and until that attitude is changed, we cannot hope to bring about reforms which we need perhaps even more than do the women themselves."

In the Driftway

THE Drifter like everyone else has often wished for a charm that would abolish the unpleasant things in life: afternoon teas, and 100 per cent Americans, and colds in the head, and getting up in the morning, and any number of others. It never occurred to him that such a wonder-working machine actually existed; however, from India comes notice of a talisman whose powers are truly wonderful—though whether in every case they have a desirable result is another matter. "By using this Talisman," says the announcement, "one will be free from all diseases and will be blessed with success in everything and in every act. . . . By its use one is sure to get success in Horse Races, in Litigations, Examinations, and in all things. It will secure a handsome, beautiful, and auspicious wife . . . . It prevents untimely death and early decrepitude."

* * * * *

NOR do the purveyors of this marvelous charm rest content with mere promise. Letters are evidently pouring in on them from delighted users of their product, testifying amply to its magic powers: "I am glad to inform you that all of us have got the B.A. Degree of the Calcutta University this year. All of us got plucked at the last Examination. Please send me two more"; "I am pleased to say I have had promotion by wearing your Talisman. They have proved effective in cases of Heart Disease, Headache, Double Pneumonia, Frightful Dreams, etc."; "After my wife and myself used your reliable Talisman my wife gave birth to a male child"; "I am exceedingly glad to tell you that all my desires have been fulfilled by using your Talisman. . . . It gave me enormous effects."

* * * * *

AT first the Drifter was minded to send a talisman to each of his friends. And one of the testimonials goes further: "I would advise even my enemy to use your Talisman as it saves a man from all the difficulties." This last point becomes extremely interesting in its suggestion that an enemy is inimical only because of the troubled waters of his own spirit. Let calm descend upon his soul and he will be an enemy to no man; but somehow the Drifter is inclined to be skeptical—not, to be sure, that he presumes to doubt the power of the talisman, but that he has such respect for his own power to make and sustain enemies. Let them be as calm as they will; they will be enemies still.

* * * * *

HOWEVER, in spite of these numerous disadvantages, it is evident that talismen are worn in other places than India: "A week ago today," says the New York *Times*, "the driver of a motor-truck ran into the Reading night express when it was traveling at seventy miles an hour. When the train crew went back to look over the damage they found the truck driver sitting on the wreckage smoking a cigarette. At the same crossing this morning the same truckman drove another truck into the Reading morning express, also going seventy miles an hour. . . . The train crew went back and found the truck driver, uninjured, unloading feed from the remains of the truck to a wagon." The Drifter does not know who supplies the driver with trucks, but obviously he is protected by no ordinary agency; the testimonial that could do justice to a talisman like this has yet to be written. THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

Nansen on the League of Nations

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have been away in the Near East for a very long time, and it is only now after my return home that I find your kind letter of October 5, referring to my speech in Geneva and my saying that it must be "this League of Nations and no other." You wish me to explain my position. That, I think, is very easily done. I admit, as I think I have told you before, that the League of Nations as it now exists is still an imperfect organism; but I think it is rapidly growing, and can be improved in the direction of the ideal to which we all look forward, by the united efforts of all who really desire to promote a sound and stable world peace.

On the other hand I think it might, perhaps, be possible to weaken this League, or even to destroy it by the united efforts of those who do not approve of it; but in that case I see no hope of forming a new league. Such deep disappointment would be created in the minds of all who believe in a better future that they certainly would distrust all efforts to found a new league. It might be possible to form such a league in America, between the American countries, though I doubt it. But I know for certain that you would not be able to do so in Europe, and you certainly could not expect European states to dissolve the present League with which they are now working, in order to set up another on lines suggested from outside. This is my reason for saying that the choice rests between this League or no league, and I am convinced that I am right.

Lysaker, Norway, January 3 FRIDTJOF NANSEN

Indicted but Not Convicted

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The editorial comment on page 56 of your issue of January 17 seems to me unjust in its treatment of the recently indicted members of the Emergency Construction Committee of the Council of National Defense. You seem to gloat over these indictments as if a group of scoundrels whose scandalous actions had long been known were finally brought to justice. These men have been indicted, but to infer that they are guilty is outrageous. I know nothing of the details of these indictments, but it would surprise me greatly if the trial of some of these men whom I know were to prove any act of dishonest intent.

What offends me even more than this inference is your last paragraph: "When the lid is lifted from some more of these war transactions in the name of piety, democracy, and dollar-a-year patriotism, the American people will have additional reason to blush." I am afraid that this hits me directly. I was not a dollar-a-year man, but I was one of those who went to Washington and worked my head off in the service of the Government during the war because I wanted to give my best to the country in its emergency. I still believe of most of those technical and professional men who worked in various governmental services during the war that their motives were fine and honest and that that kind of "lay" service extended into peace times is the only hope for the development of an efficient democracy.

During my service I doubtless did many things which a politically oriented attorney general or a not too careful grand jury might regard with suspicion resulting in an indictment. If *The Nation* were then consistent and repeated the paragraph above quoted in my regard, it would be giving countenance to an absolutely inexcusable falsehood and would be doing the kind of injustice which I know you wish to avoid.

New York, January 18 ROBERT D. KOHN

How Many Chews to a *Nation?*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An Indiana friend has been sending me *The Nation* for several months. I like it. Think it is the best in these States. Why not let me pay you for a year's subscription in my fine natural leaf tobacco? We Dixie farmers are not allowed to have much money though we produce a surplus of good things. I do not like to starve my soul. Hence this offer. Surely some of the staff smoke or chew?

I have been trying and have nearly succeeded in lifting a $4,000 mortgage on my farm, and in these panic times it has been a close call. My large family of little Dixie rebels work like slaves We read much and try to think straight (not shoot straight).

I have a fine crop of tobacco this year, post paid 30 cents a pound, guaranteed 100 spits to the chew and 100 puffs to the pipeful. May I not serve you?

Gleason, Tennessee, January 18 J. S. WILKINS

A Request from Moscow

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The State Council of Education of Soviet Russia has organized a foreign department for the purpose of securing information concerning educational progress in foreign countries. This department has already sent to a number of American institutions letters asking for such information accompanied by the periodical of the State Council of Education together with a brief digest in English. As there is, in general, little information available in Russia about American education, this department would appreciate the privilege of announcing through the medium of your journal, that it will be glad to exchange information on educational matters with educational institutions and groups of America.

Moscow, December 13 ALEXANDER M. KRASNOSHCHOKOV,
Member State Council
Head of the American Section

The Black Troops Are Still There

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In connection with the further occupation of Germany by the French and the statements reported to have been made by M. Clemenceau that there are no black soldiers in the Rhine country, the following account of a recent experience there may be of interest and value.

Some months ago I arrived, rather late at night, at Bingen on the Rhine, and started along the main street, walking on the sidewalk, to the Hotel Distel. The street was brilliantly lighted. About forty yards from the railway station is a large building evidently now used as barracks for French soldiers. A number of black soldiers were standing in the courtyard and gateway. At a little sentry box by the gate was a Negro soldier, a very black one, on guard. As I was about to pass he suddenly presented his bayonet point to my stomach. I did not hear him say anything. I stepped into the street, and as I walked by he struck at me viciously with a sweeping blow of his arm, touching me only slightly as I was almost out of his reach. A German to whom I afterward spoke, was walking a short distance ahead of me and had gone out into the street, evidently knowing that civilians must walk in the roadway when passing the sentry, although the sidewalk was abundantly wide enough.

I am a minister, retired, of the Presbyterian church, whose Scotch ancestors came to America some 200 years ago. The above statement I have sworn to and had certified in our United States Consulate in Venice, Italy

This experience leads to some serious reflections, for if a person of my age, well dressed, and with some degree of dignity,

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receives such treatment, what is likely to be the conduct of these exponents of French civilization toward poorly dressed men and women, working people, and especially toward young women and girls? And it leaves the conviction that the French officers desire this sort of conduct, otherwise they would not allow it.

East Northfield, Mass., January 16 HENRY A. TODD

"Its Primary Purpose"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I inclose herewith a verbatim copy of a letter which was sent out to a number of law-enforcing officials of the city of Portland. I am advised that the same letter has been sent to every sheriff and to every law-enforcing official of this State.

Portland, Oregon, December 14 B. A. GREEN

CONFIDENTIAL COPY
HEADQUARTERS
Vancouver Barracks, Washington
Office of the Intelligence Officer

October 16, 1922

DEAR SIR: The Intelligence Service of the Army has for its primary purpose the surveillance of all organizations or elements hostile or potentially hostile to the Government of this country, or who seek to overthrow the Government by violence.

Among organizations falling under the above head are radical groups, as the I. W. W., World War Veterans, Union of Russian Workers, Communist Party, Communist Labor Party, One Big Union, Workers International Industrial Union, Anarchists and Bolsheviki, and such semi-radical organizations as the Socialists, Nonpartisan League, Big Four Brotherhoods, and American Federation of Labor.

Not only are we interested in these organizations because they have as their object the overthrow of the Government, but also because they attempt to undermine and subvert the loyalty of our soldiers.

With the few scattered military posts in this part of the country, it is obviously impossible to cover all points as thoroughly as they should be, hence it is necessary in many cases to trust to the cooperation of law-enforcement officers whose duties and whose knowledge of a particular locality gives them a thorough insight into such matters.

It is requested that you inform this office as to any of the aforementioned or other radical organizations coming to your attention under such headings as (a) location of headquarters, (b) names of leaders, (c) strength of organization, (d) activities of the organization, (e) strikes and methods of carrying on same, and (f) attitude of members. We will be glad to receive copies of pamphlets, handbills, or other radical propaganda spread in your vicinity.

If from time to time you will keep me posted as to conditions in your vicinity, such cooperation on the part of yourself and your subordinates as the press of your duties permits will be greatly appreciated. Sincerely,

W. D. LONG,
1st Lieutenant, 7th U. S. Infantry,
Intelligence Officer

Emerson *versus* Bryan

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The whole point of Bishop Manning's letter to Dr. Grant is that the vows of ordination have been broken by the liberal minister. The vows are in brief "to give faithful diligence so to minister the doctrine, etc., of Christ as the Lord hath commanded." Wherein has Dr. Grant transgressed? If he quarrels with the Athanasian Creed which was promulgated 300 years after Jesus's death in a council of bitter old men squabbling for lucrative offices, he does not find himself *ipso facto* in conflict with the "command of the Lord." Bishop Manning in his attempt to thrust a papal bull into the Augean stables of church insufficiency, has raised a cloud of dust which preserves his dignity but obscures the truth. The matter is still one of interpretation: Dr. Grant goes directly to the known words of Christ as recorded in the Gospels, particularly Mark's; Bishop Manning starts his ecclesiastical doctrine with St. Paul.

Dr. Grant will possibly be forced, like Emerson, to resign from a position he has occupied with distinction; Bishop Manning will doubtless remain in office with those Malthusian interpretations worthy of Bryan and the Ku Klux.

New York, January 20 SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW

Science Is Dying

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As a result of long years of war and revolution and the accompanying mental stress and physical suffering, many of Russia's greatest scientists are dying—and their contributions to science will die with them. The Gorky Fund for the relief of Russian scientists was founded in order to extend help to some of these men before it is too late. Contributions can be made to H. W. L. Dana, Treasurer, 105 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass. Readers of *The Nation* will be interested in the following extracts from Maxim Gorky's latest letter to the Fund:

Thank you for the $1,000 which you have collected for the House of Scientists in Petrograd. I know that it has cost you time and energy to collect this sum, but allow me to believe that your efforts are repaid through the consciousness of the cause which you serve so disinterestedly and actively. What is this cause? One of the Russian scientists formulated it like this: "It is to create an eternal happiness for man, by surrounding him with conquered and humble nature."

You, through your modest work, help indirectly in this great process of freeing man from the captivity of elements, in the growth of the human investigating mind and the eternally unsatisfied spirit. You say in your letter: "It has been very difficult and uphill work for us until now because of the fact that people are not as yet accustomed to think in terms of interracial solidarity and also because science through its misapplication for war and human exploitation purposes is as yet precious to only a few people."

I can understand the motives which bring forth this sad but unjust opinion. These motives find their root in the fatal and base mistake of the senseless war of 1914-1918. That cruel war, having augmented the quantity of hatred and evil-mindedness in the world, also threw its dismal shadow over all culture, and in particular on the domain of the only true light—the domain of Science.

But we must remember that we live in a world where all events are indissolubly joined together and that science, or a certain part of it, could not remain a stranger to the madness which had impetuously overtaken the whole world, for, being the creator of the means of self-protection, she had to come to the assistance of man in the tragic days of his insanity.

She is always, in everything and everywhere—for the use of man. She has created around him a "second nature" in which atmosphere we live already for a long time, although we do not yet fully realize it. And in this lies the source of our happiness, of our future victories over the evil of the world—there lies the way to freedom and justice.

To help the workers and the creators of science means helping the best and greatest thing there is on earth. I wish you courage and resistance in your task of relief to science.

Governments may rise or fall but science must survive if civilization itself is to live.

Boston, January 8 ISIDORE LEVITT

A Correction

A correction received from Robert Dell to be made in his article The Eve of French Invasion in last week's issue of *The Nation* arrived after the issue was off the press. Mr. Dell writes: "I said 'The minimum wage for an unskilled worker in December was fixed by the trade unions at 85,000 marks a month.' I was told this by somebody who I thought knew the facts, but he was mistaken. The wage mentioned was the *highest* earned by any skilled worker in December; the unskilled earned only about 60,000 marks and even some of the skilled men had no more than that."

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Books

Answers to Pilate

Thinking: An Introduction to its History and Science. By Fred Casey. The Labour Publishing Company. 4s. 6d.

Matter and Spirit. By James Bissett Pratt. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

Progress and Science. By Robert Shafer. The Yale University Press. $2.50.

The Misuse of Mind. By Karin Stephen. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

THE carpenter from Galilee, facing vague indictments, told his judge: "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." Pilate naturally inquired, "What is truth?" Thereupon the record becomes silent; there is no canonical response to the query. Before and since that time, however, mankind has suffered from a plethora of replies to the simple question. This group of books comprises answers to it from an ill-equipped philosophic amateur, from an inadequate or dishonest mind, from an adroit special pleader, and from a brilliant evader.

Mr. Casey's book is a sketch of the history of philosophy, and a fragmentary treatment of logic, from the standpoint of the labor movement. The author in the main "can lay no claim to originality," he says; perhaps we can blame upon some unnamed authority his occasional lapses from rigorous thinking, and even from grammatical exactitude. His is a dogmatic, black or white, and never black *and* white, mind; a thing is wrong or right; too rarely part wrong and part right. Frequently he thinks he has arrived at truth, toward which at best limited man can sketch only tendencies and partial answers. There must be truth somewhere, he says. It were more accurate to state that the nature of truth, to man, is one of these four: an altering process, a varying relationship, a hidden reality, or a mere hypothesis—or more probably a combination of some or all of these, with or without additional characteristics. Mr. Casey is essentially dogmatic; H. G. Wells in his "Outline of History" is no surer of prehistoric obscurities than this book is of matters still in high scientific dispute, and perhaps always to remain there. His outline of the history of philosophy is essentially sketchy, but nevertheless valuable. There is less exactitude in his spotty exposition of logic. He has repeated a contribution to thought when he defines mind as the sum total of all the ideas in the brain, even though this may overlook faculties of combination and alteration; but his subsequent definition of matter is much less felicitous. The conclusion of the book, which deals "logically" with such questions as, Is Education Good for the Working Class? Are Strikes Unreasonable? Should Workers Serve on Trade Union Executives? is unfortunately biased. The book is sketchily valuable.

Professor Pratt's volume indicates in the author either an intellect constitutionally incapable of treating adequately problems of matter and spirit, or essentially dishonest in its method. The internal evidence inclines one toward the latter view. After a finikin division of the possible theories into eight, which he groups into the four inclusive schools, Interaction, Materialism, Parallelism, and the form of parallelism called Idealistic Parallelism, he successively calls each school to the bat, and strikes out his batters with skilful mental curves. Some at least of these swatsmen are mere men of straw, who could not hit a scratch single for the Ishkooda team of the Mineral Belt League. His annihilation of Materialism, for instance, consists —pardon a necessary change in the sporting figure—of this knockout blow: that materialism invariably asserts that consciousness has and can have no effect upon behavior whatsoever. Despite subsequent sallies away from this position, it is his Othello-strangle; and it simply is no necessary postulate and no invariable concomitant of materialistic thinking. In those philosophies in which consciousness is considered as a form of matter or motion, the reverse is true of it. Once let the author consider the subject from a developmental standpoint—once let him study consciousness as the temporary apex of a process extending from the action and reaction of a struck rubber ball, through the stimulus and reaction of a unicellular organism, to his own cerebrations—and he can hardly answer so shortsightedly. Even his own quoted authorities are here misunderstood or perverted. This initial unfairness vitiates the book as a whole.

His treatment of Parallelism is fairer and cleverer, but just as inadequately thought or stated. An example of his uninclusive thinking is this: "It is interesting to note that (if brain events are the appearance of mind events) the two series are not contemporaneous but successive. The physical event must always follow the psychical event with which it is correlated." This is gratuitous assumption. Taking the case of the sudden special creation of an object, its appearance, in the sense of visibility, might conceivably be contemporaneous with its creation: in other words, would there necessarily be any subdivision of time in which it would exist without any attribute of visibility? Yet recall that he is treating here of one physical thing, the brain, and a thing assumed to be non-physical, consciousness: with much more plausibility it could be argued that laws of temporal successivity by no means need apply to the interrelation of these two differing things, so that they might be phenomenally contemporaneous, or in their essences simultaneous; it is an unnecessary *non sequitur* to predicate successivity for them. When he comes to the pragmatists, he veers closer to accurate reasoning; but he sags lamentably when he arrives at his own dualism. His definition of "self," to isolate a minor point, is woefully inadequate. It is "that which has ideals and purposes, which wills and suffers and strives and knows." This is his own pet definition, not given as a scientific one—an unnecessary ingredient of a book of supposedly rigorous thinking; in any event it excludes quite possibly certain forms of plant and animal life and all inorganic matter, of which self may be predicated without stretching the meaning of the word given in any standard lexicon. His naive plea is that science should stop at "the line where experience indicates that it ends," and leave the rest to the theologians, the doctors of "Starry Heaven," to use his poetical concluding phrase. Unfortunately for his thesis, it is in this very domain that science has done some of its most masterly yeoman service. Little flashes of bitterness against labor unions and socialism are hardly needed to indicate how unreliable the author is from every standpoint.

Mr. Shafer is a plausible pleader for some spiritual concomitant of material thinking, although his method is novel and, upon analysis, unpersuasive. He strays over the domain of thought, and comes to the conclusion, after a scrutiny of education, history, and some science, that progress may not be found in any of these. He has allowed the opposition a full rostrum, a clear exposition, and copious quotation; then he proceeds, by clever response and, at times, clever digression, to achieve or pretend a final answer to the points so made. If he were only as accurate a thinker as he is a charming stylist! His spokesman for science is S. F. Marvin; surely a more outstanding advocate could have been selected. He allows a wider group to speak in behalf of social progress and education; and the chapter on history, centering around the pessimistic theories of Henry Adams, is illuminating in a high degree. Despite its partial popularity, this philosophy, with its insistence that "history is the record of the progressive degradation of vital energy," and that reason is an enfeeblement of archaic vital energy, manifested heretofore in intuition and instinct—this philosophy is not sufficiently known to Mr. Adams's aloof countrymen. Undoubtedly this member of the opposition makes out the best case for something which is, in essence, less progress than its antonym; it is significant that Mr. Shafer's answer here is even less persuasive than usual. The chapter on Walter

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Pater, and the sketchy concluding chapter upon a spiritual answer to the questions raised, are not up to the level of the history chapter. The reasoning is no sounder than Professor Platt's, but it is pleasanter reading and more good-natured.

Miss Stephen's brief essay on the Bergsonian "views as a whole," to quote the master's phrase, is the clearest summary of the great intuition theory that we have yet encountered. It reveals in all its force the sound steps the French philosopher has taken in his analysis of the interrelations of fact and abstraction, space and duration—however little he would relish the use of the word "analysis" to describe what he has done, and what he believes is the incorrect method of philosophy. To him the fact is the immediate sense perception—or, rather, that broadened to include all sense perceptions; while qualities, classes, and even things, are merely abstractions. Of the fact he announces an existence in duration, which has no parts, no stages, but is a non-repetitive creative synthesis. Matter (including qualities, classes, and things) is an abstraction, logical, in space and not time, divided into parts or stages, and endowed with repetitiveness. In this differentiation he is superficially sound, compared to his conclusion and his starting-point. His conclusion is that philosophy should be the science of intuition, and not of analysis and classification; his starting-point is his assumption that the fact has reality, which can be perceived sensibly. He is rather cursory in his dismissal of the various hypotheses to explain the connection between cognition and reality; he is more than cloudy in giving any persisting illumination as to how his method may be utilized to answer Pilate's question, in its detailed ramifications. It is the best of Bergson, uncolored and undistorted, and as such invaluable; its demerits are his, its merits the author's.

If the Judean judge had studied carefully these four contributions toward the solution of his query, he would "come out at that same door wherein he went." Not by gappy dogmatism, not by obtuse or studied unfairness, not by the fence-play of the *advocatus diaboli*, not by a headless and tailless vision, however brilliant, can that question be answered. It is man's burden to dwell in a house strange to its tiniest nail: let him solve one detail, and he has gone a long way toward the solution of all. He will not solve one: but he will not cease the vivid labor of trying, and of constantly wrestling with the Protean reality. He must look elsewhere than in these four books to do that much.

CLEMENT WOOD

Divertissements

Lilian. By Arnold Bennett. George H. Doran Company. $2.
The Enchanted April. By the author of "Elizabeth and Her German Garden." Doubleday, Page and Company. $1.90.
The Seven Ages of Woman. By Compton Mackenzie. Frederick A. Stokes. $2.

OF these three divertissements "The Enchanted April" is the best because it is the most frankly what it is, and "The Seven Ages of Woman" the most disappointing because it was so evidently intended to be something else, while Mr. Bennett's "Lilian" falls somewhere between the two. The latter little tale of a beautiful typist who breaks the seventh commandment without, quite properly, receiving the full measure of retribution which would conventionally be supposed her due, is quite up to the minute in atmosphere and phrase, and it is by no means heavily burdened by its weight of one of those bits of "pocket philosophy" which its author loves to bestow upon the public. A pretty girl, so he implies, is not to be expected to waste her time in typing, and there's an end of it. But quite frankly, "Lilian," in spite of its breezy competence, is neither much better nor much worse than the stories constantly turned out by providers of popular entertainment who have never attained Mr. Bennett's fame.

"Elizabeth's" new story is so frankly the optimistic farce that it is as to beguile a critic of his sternness. Its author is surely the least vicious of satirists, but that is no reason for denying the existence of the satire, for she has a real talent for gently puncturing pompous virtue, and if there are moments when she totters on the edge of Pollyannaism there is a streak of very genuine wit which saves her. Thousands may have found her previous books "too sweet for words," but that is their fault rather than hers, and "The Enchanted April" has delightful moments. There is genuine humor in the character of the pious lady, Mrs. Arbuthnot, who tries earnestly to spend well the money which her husband earns by writing every year highly popular memoirs of the mistresses of kings, and there is humor too in the other lady, "married to the kind of man who sends his wife early to the feet of God." "Heaven," says Mrs. Arbuthnot, "is in our home." "It isn't," says her friend, and even Mrs. Arbuthnot's conscience, "made super-sensitive by years of pampering," is not proof against the obvious truth of this simple denial and she is led away to a holiday in Italy where sunshine banishes the gloom of her goodness. Gentle as it is, the book gets an edge from the fact that it is a part of what Thackeray called the Pagan Protest; it is a gentle assertion of the claims of life against duty.

If Compton Mackenzie is never profound, neither is he ever, in the superficial sense, dull, and so the justice is done him of putting "The Seven Ages of Woman," in spite of its intended seriousness, here among the divertissements rather than in graver company. On the surface at least of his work there is always a liveliness, a sophistication, and a verisimilitude that carries the reader along, and there is an easy capacity, not for character analysis, but for those little strokes which individualize figures and keep his pages alive. But beyond this he cannot go. He has no philosophy to give significance to his work and no depths in himself to be moved, for he inhabits an essentially trivial world. Even the once famous "Carnival" had a brassy ring because it could not but be felt that the author was tainted with the vulgarity of his characters, and "The Seven Ages of Woman" is similarly hollow because he never realizes that his tragic heroine is a trivial person.

Indeed, "The Seven Futilities of Ladyhood" would be a more descriptive designation than the one which he has given, for his title, as it stands, seems to promise a panorama of the essential tragedy of womankind and gives instead a picture of nothing more than the futilities engendered by excessive gentility and a weak will. From the time when Mary Flower is handed over to her grandmother in Paris to be made a lady until at the lonely end of her life she sits stroking the Siamese cat and reviewing the emptiness of her existence she has never made one stroke against the stream. If her life was colorless it was of her own choosing, and it is difficult to believe that anyone so content to take the path of least resistance was capable of very intense suffering. Presumably the center of her tragedy was her failure to get the man she wanted, but twice he stood within her reach. Once she gave him up because her grandmother thought him not a suitable match and then again she let him go for no very good reason except the inertia of weakness. Opportunity knocked at her door twice, once oftener than it is conventionally supposed to do, and the only grounds which she seems to have for complaint against life is that she never drifted into happiness. The choice between happiness and tragedy is not given us, but the choice between one of those two and mere safety is, and at least only those who have fought and lost have a right to complain. If Mr. Mackenzie means, as he seems to mean, his innocuous drifter as a type feminine character then he is one of the most profound of misogynists. She is no subject for tragedy or even for pathos but only for satire, and the fact that he does not realize this is proof of the essential vulgarity of his view of life. He does not know that the only realities worth having can and must be fought for and that thousands fight that fight. A modish cry "vanity, vanity" is his stock in trade, but he has no right to his easy disillusion because he has never created people significant enough really to test what life has to offer.

J. W. KRUTCH

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Lyrics and Magic

Late Lyrics and Earlier. With Many Other Verses. By Thomas Hardy. London: Macmillan and Company. $2.50.

The Hour of Magic and Other Poems. By W. H. Davies. Harper and Brothers. $1.50.

CERTAIN of the pieces in Mr. Hardy's latest volume were composed only yesterday, certain others fifty years ago. "The unusually far-back poems," the Apology says, "are some that were overlooked in gathering previous collections." Suspicion arises that many yet lie in the shade of his desk. They ought to come out, because their author is the most interesting poet alive in England—whether for his reputation as a novelist, his narrative genius in verse, his philosophy, or purely his poetry does not matter. The present volume, though like the others it is imperfect, in no important sense betrays a falling off. More ought to appear until we are sure that the last rich drop has been lifted from that deep well.

The time-old questions about Mr. Hardy's form, or lack of form, are here to be asked; and here as before they cannot be answered. It only is plain that the harsh involutions of his rhythm and the dogged abstractness of his diction make for wealth, for wisdom, for wit, for meaning, for surprise as often as they make for ugly and barren difficulty. Mr. Hardy writes like Mr. Hardy, and that should be enough to say. Now in particular, however, it becomes possible to divine what part vocabulary plays in his success. Vocabulary has not brought to life—though it has tried—those poems which were dead from the start because too completely formulized in his critical intelligence or his pessimism; but wherever a poem had natural currents to float in it has been profoundly enhanced through a choice of powerful and characteristic words. Mr. Hardy's vocabulary is conscious and grave and even pedantic, like his observation of life. There is no sparkle; a glow kindles gradually and deepens. There is no leap or flash; the ideas move with a might of their own, as Time flows through the minds of philosophers. Usually, though not invariably, the aroma is musty, reminding of old furniture in a dim-windowed, forgotten garret—genuine antiques, though, from the hands of good craftsmen. Such is the value for Hardy of words like fain, rote, evenfall, afteryears, naught, fraught, selfsame, sooth, and abode.

As previous volumes led one to expect, the stories told here range from great to ridiculous. A Woman's Fancy is typical of hundreds in Hardy that tell of queer, brooding people who come and do solemn things with their souls. It is excellent, but others are trite in their tragedy or trivial in their play upon coincidence. The best pieces are the lyrics, which justify the title of the collection and are genuine, even for Mr. Hardy. The Fallow Deer at the Lonely House is distinguished by the felicity of its spacing and its pauses. The last two lines are exquisite.

"One without looks in tonight
Through the curtain-chink
From the sheet of glistening white;
One without looks in tonight
As we sit and think
By the fender-brink.

"We do not discern those eyes
Watching in the snow;
Lit by lamps of rosy dyes
We do not discern those eyes
Wondering, aglow,
Fourfooted, tiptoe."

An Ancient to Ancients, possibly the finest thing in the book, already has achieved the fame of a classic farewell. There is a profusion of life in it, a ring, a congeniality mingled with melancholy that will startle those who know Mr. Hardy merely as must people know him.

Mr. Davies has had to appear in slender volumes, not because he is a slender poet but because he writes so little during any given year. Much of what he writes is of the best. In these thirty pages there is perhaps an unusual amount of flatness for him; the last ten or twelve might have been trimmed off. But in plenty of places we come again upon the old, tiny charm, the sharp, sweet, wet, bright phrase wherein an image is perfectly served by the cadence, wherein a cadence catches something from the image. We slip around the corner of a line, for instance, and meet with this:

"How slowly moves the snail, that builds
A silver street so fine and long";

or this:

"He saw the jewels there,
Shaking with life, and greedy, where
They nibbled at the small, gold bands
On her cold, lifeless hands."

And in plenty of other places we smile at the old ingenuous curiosity about bellies and legs, the old naive delight in nipples and necks and pretty mouths, the boldness yet delicacy of touch which thrusts Mr. Davies through all contemporary prettiness into the company of Herrick and a few small Greeks.

"The voices and the legs of birds and women
Have always pleased my ears and eyes the most.
* * *
"Three things there are more beautiful
Than any man could wish to see:
The first, it is a full-rigged ship
Sailing with all her sails set free;
The second, when the wind and sun
Are playing in a field of corn;
The third, a woman, young and fair,
Showing her child before it is born."

MARK VAN DOREN

The Writer's Trade

The Business of Writing. By Robert Cortes Holliday and Alexander Van Rensselaer. George H. Doran Company. $2.

DON'T be an "author." Play the races or run a faro bank if you wish a comparatively certain means of livelihood, but let the literary flea bite unminded and in vain. Such at least is the counsel of Messrs. Holliday and Van Rensselaer. For the volume, though perhaps not so meant, is a warning to those who when not peeling potatoes in the cook-house of a Montana ranch or preparing baby's bottle in a downtown apartment sit down a few moments to write a short story or play and thus gain a "little pin money." Possibly the volume is subsidized by the combined editorial readers for publishers and magazines, in an effort to dam the manuscript flood and allow them more time for lunch. Though highly entertaining in style, causing many a chuckle, it is to be seriously questioned whether the book is of real value to the "new beginner," so often mentioned. The novice is primarily interested in two things: first, how to write; second, having written, how he can sell his product. The former subject is purposely not treated; the latter is discussed, but often in too general fashion. As a book of negative literary etiquette, it is excellent, "What Not to Do.'" Here are a few of the most valuable "don'ts" condensed:

Don't send editors Christmas stories two weeks before the holiday occurs.

Don't prepare manuscripts untidily, nor too fancifully, with baby ribbons and the like. Editorial readers are human, with humanity's prejudices.

Don't send manuscript in long hand.

Don't send a seven-thousand word manuscript to a magazine which never uses articles of more than two thousand.

Don't forward manuscript with messages like these appended: "I do not believe that I overestimate myself when I

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say that I know I have unusual ability along fiction lines," or "After reading some of my work one of my school teachers years ago was, or seemed to be, very much enthused over it."

Don't send misspelled, grammarless manuscripts and request the editor to "Just run your vocabulary over these for the paper."

Don't believe that if you can only talk to the editor, your manuscript is sold, and your reputation made.

Don't select a literary agent without first looking at his teeth.

Beyond this, in the field of literature, there is little of practical aid to the neophyte wooer of the Muse, interested in the lady's dowry, rather than herself. The account of the photoplay market, however, is illuminating, and very helpful. To the writer who occasionally or often sells articles, or who is dickering with publishers about his books, certain chapters will be found more valuable, particularly those describing the mechanics of publishing and syndicating methods, contracts, and royalties. Though much of this information, probably, he has already acquired. The discursive treatment and abundance of droll illustrations tend to transform the volume into a general essay on The Writing Urge to be relished by anyone interested in this epidemic, ravaging—say the editors—the nation, the epidemic doctors might call "authorosis." Of the numerous cases recorded one is amazing, revealed by a letter to a magazine chief:

"From Prv. Peter M. Johnson,
"A Natural Poet
"Just back from France.
"Sir, As a 'natural Poet' I has Wrote thousands of Poems. War and reconstruction-ones.
"Sir, I am Willing to enter and agrement With You to that end.
"Sincerely. "Yours"

Even this, however, is surpassed by the letter of the gentleman from North Carolina who offered to walk from the Atlantic to the Pacific on all fours, getting up only to sleep at night, solely for the sake of writing about it! Where such devotion is, the day of the great American literature cannot be far off!

BEN LUCIEN BURMAN

Music

Biographies of Musicians

EVEN in the glittering world of fiction a fact may preserve its inalienable value. Students of singing and of the history of singers ought to be grateful to Messrs. Pierre V. R. Key and Bruno Zirato* for compiling an authentic list of the operas the late Enrico Caruso sang in, and when and where he sang in them, and including the list as a chief appendix to their interesting life of the celebrated tenor. Inaccuracy is the demon that hounds all biography, but in the case of musical biography it is less a demon than a possession. Take, for example, a book so generally considered standard as Baker's "Biographical Dictionary of Musicians." You have only to dip into it at random to find yourself fascinated by the fabric of an amazing make-believe that rears its gossamer towers and bastions about you in a magical mirage of wonder.

Here is one gem almost beyond credence. A singer of eminent obscurity, so far as the lyric drama is concerned, had nevertheless, if we are to believe Baker, this rather distinguishing experience: "During the season of 1908-1909 she was a member of the M. O. H. [Metropolitan Opera House], making her operatic debut as one of the Valkyrs (Nov. 18); later in the season she was heard as Ortrud, Fricka, Erda, Waltraute, Brangäne, Magdalene, Amneris, Azucena, and Maddalena ('Rigoletto')." But where, persists the cautious voice of the verifier, was she heard in this imposing array of leading contralto and mezzo-soprano roles? In the privacy of her own music room, is the safest guess. So far as the Metropolitan stage is concerned those nine major parts would be correctly diagnosed by Dr. Freud as an unfulfilled wish complex. Actually the most important part ever allotted the singer in question at the Metropolitan was Mercedes in "Carmen." The foregoing is only one especially sparkling brilliant from Baker's well-stocked rue de la Paix.

Dismissing Baker as after all a rather parochial book and liable to human error, turn if you like to the great standard English "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," I mean Grove. Choose a contemporary singer of the very first rank, like Dame Nellie Melba, whose biography, date of birth aside (a subject peculiarly delicate with singers), ought to be of a proved and unassailable accuracy. From the Grove article, by no less a personage than Herman Klein (author of a "standard" book on Adelina Patti), one gathers that once in America Mme. Melba was so "ill-advised as to essay the part of Brünnhilde in 'Die Walküre'." The same authority declares with an airy assurance that she made her debut in the United States "with the De Reszkés at Chicago during the World's Fair." As a matter of mere prosaic fact, it was Brünnhilde in "Siegfried," not Brünnhilde in "Die Walküre," that Mme. Melba was so ill-advised as to essay once, a difference of some importance, as anyone who knows anything about the two parts understands. The statement as to her American debut, though perhaps a detail of no great consequence, is likewise erroneous. Mme. Melba sang for the first time in the United States in the title role of "Lucia di Lammermoor" at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, December 4, 1893. The De Reszkés were in the company, but not in the cast.

Of the late Mme. Nordica Grove goes on year after year perpetuating the myth that she contracted a "third marriage" with Captain Joseph Raphael de la Mar, and throws in such random bits by the way as an assertion that the role of Susanna (in "The Marriage of Figaro") she added to her repertory at Covent Garden, London, in 1902, though she had certainly sung the part more than eight years previously in New York.

To continue the musico-biographical promenade by visiting the American supplement to Grove, published in 1920, one of the most curious books in its commissions, its omissions, and its distribution of emphasis ever brought out anywhere, this authority would have one believe that Geraldine Farrar was the "first to sing" Suzel in "L'Amico Fritz," a work produced when Mme. Farrar, if cognizant of opera at all, was playing at it with her paper dolls in Melrose, Massachusetts, and that Frances Alda "created" Puccini's "Le Villi," a feat she would have had to compass from the remote seclusion of her cradle in Christchurch, New Zealand. One may admit that the ideal of holding such books to an undeviating line of truth is impossible of attainment, but the orgy of inaccuracies that they now present, while highly diverting to the inquisitive browser, cannot, for various reasons, be pronounced harmless.

Taking the Key-Zirato biography of Caruso as a book of reference, the student will gather accurate information as to the parts Caruso sang and the periods of his life in which he sang them. There are, further, scattered through the book such invaluable lights on the singer's own attitude toward his art as the following: "The tenor always insisted that he kept his 'different voices' in a chest of drawers; one containing his 'Aïda' voice; another the one he used in 'Marta'; a third holding the precious instrument with which he sang in 'Bohème,' and so on, throughout his entire repertoire. And it is a fact that throughout any day on which a performance was, he governed his actions and his state of mind, to prepare him for the music of the night. If it were to be 'Samson et Dalila,' 'La Juive,' 'La Forza del Destino,' 'Le Prophète,' or any other heavy work, Caruso would lie down during the day and vocalize very little, in slow sustained phrases. If, contrarily, he had to sing in such an opera as 'L'Elisir d'Amore,' he would rise early and move actively about his apartments. Every action, every thought,

* *Enrico Caruso, a Biography.* By Pierre V. R. Key, in collaboration with Bruno Zirato. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

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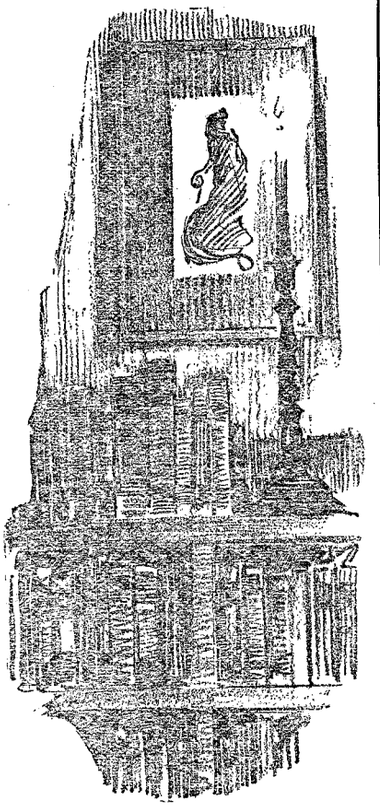

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would be light and swift. Seeking extreme suppleness and agility, he would sing swift scales in the most lyric quality of tone. And when it came time for him to deliver his first phrase in the opera, his voice was invariably the character of voice the composer sought."

Nothing could well be more important and illuminating in revealing the psychological and the practical attitude of a master-vocalist toward his art than this passage. In it is perhaps the key to the secret of Caruso's retaining an extraordinary versatility at an age when tenors have usually settled down to one species of part or given up singing in public altogether. A wit remarked in Havana in the summer of 1920: "Blankini is the *biggest* baritone in the world, but Caruso is the *greatest*." And yet Caruso was really a tenor—for all the volume and richness of his lower scale—a robust tenor, an heroic tenor, a lyric tenor, a florid tenor. There is a sort of parallel in the case of Lilli Lehmann, who when upwards of sixty years of age was not only still singing with success, but singing roles of such varying demands on the soprano voice as the Brünnhildes, Isolde, Norma, Donna Anna in "Don Giovanni," and Violetta in "La Traviata."

The study of these phenomena through accurate report is a valuable contribution to the scientific knowledge of singing and of how good singing may be achieved. Fortunately Caruso's career came at a time when the ingenuity of man had succeeded in recording the human voice with exactitude, and so we can

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always hear faithful reproductions of Caruso's voice at different ages and in music of divers kinds. This biography, quite apart from its appeal as an absorbing and often romantic account of how a singer's career mounted from humble and even discouraging origins to the summit of earthly glory in its kind, complements the repertory of the Caruso vocal records in making possible an intelligent and helpful study of the gifts and methods of one of the most gifted and accomplished singers that ever lived.

PITTS SANBORN

Drama

Many Inventions

AMONG the minor theatrical events of the year's end the first place undoubtedly belongs to the Equity Players' production of Mr. Jesse Lynch Williams's comedy "Why Not?" This play continues, from another angle, Mr. Williams's social criticism in a high comedy key and manner begun some years ago in "Why Marry?" By selecting the mood and manner of artificial comedy as practiced, more or less monotonously, from Congreve to Wilde, Mr. Williams commits himself at once to artifices of action that no longer produce a very willing suspension of disbelief and to a glitter of dialogue that is often and obviously bought at too great a price. Granting his method, his execution is highly competent if not brilliant. His social ideas, to which he is justly attached, are sane and tonic. He wishes in reality to sustain and defend the institution of marriage by making its practice, what it is not now, rational and humane. He is anxious to eliminate from it its present element of sheer enslavement by making divorce decent and by making mutual consent to divorce the strongest ground for granting it. With this attitude no person capable of either justice or mercy can possibly quarrel. A company of crisply directed and intelligently expressive players interpret the character, action, and ideas of Mr. Williams, and if the entire production is not fine art it is at least civilized entertainment illustrating sound doctrine.

"Secrets," by Rudolph Besier and May Edgington (Fulton Theater), is a charming, though quite minor piece of work, which reduces dramatic artificiality to its minimum and contents itself with projecting certain episodes in the lives of two people in order to illustrate the true inwardness of their marriage. If there is any intention—I think there is—it is to show that the Victorian attitude to marriage—double standard and all—was capable of producing results of the highest spiritual value. Of this fact none but a shallow doctrinaire could ever have been in doubt. Victorian marriage was much more conformable to the essential nature of men than the present arrangement; it required, however, to be successful, a more or less martyred woman. That is why the revolt against it was a feminine revolt. And today few men of intelligence or feeling could afford to buy their satisfactions at the Victorian figure. Thus, though marriage is, perhaps, more pervasively unhappy now, it is on a more hopeful road and Mr. Besier's Neo-Victorianism—ominous word that is beginning to be whispered here and there—is a delusion and a snare. What is neither is the quite brilliant, quite beautiful and moving playing of Margaret Lawrence in the central role. This actress has the rare grace of being gentle without softness, sweet without excess, arch without ever being kittenish. How rare that is only hardened playgoers can know. She gives here, as several times in the past, a performance that is all nature, mellow glow, and tempered brightness.

Mr. Booth Tarkington's novels vary from high and serious excellence to the reverse. His plays do not. Each is as trivial, empty, false as the rest. If an idea is introduced it is robbed of its health and truth by the syrupiness of the characterization and execution. In "Rose Briar" (Empire Theater) there is an idea that might have gone to the making of either a hilarious or a bitter comedy. A woman who never blunders into right has the power of putting her husband always in the wrong. A vigorous, genuine notion, founded in nature and truth. Mr. Tarkington reduces the whole thing to a vast simper. Miss Billie Burke, who takes the role not of the wife but of a kind of fairy god-child, is fearfully and wonderfully sweet. She is capable of much better things. Mr. Tarkington insists on the last ounce of sugar.

"The Lady Cristilinda" (Broadhurst Theater) by Monckton Hoffe has an astonishingly Shavian second act. A "fake" painting by Fra Lippo Lippi is presented at a local theater to the Catholic church of St. Ethelreda in Hammerpool by the biggest of the town's magnates. His Highness is present, as well as the Anglican Bishop, the Lord Mayor, and other dignitaries. They all make speeches. The satire is gorgeous; the speeches are priceless. Unhappily the play has also a first, third, and even fourth act, and these are on all but the lowest level of soggy sentimental comedy. Which aspect of the play shows the true physiognomy of Mr. Hoffe it is impossible to determine.

I may end with the fourth and probably final program of the Théâtre de La Chauve Souris at the Century Roof Theater. It is needless to specify the numbers. Several of them have been retained from earlier programs; the most valuable additions are the choral and pictorial arrangements of Russian folksongs which are wholly beautiful and profoundly moving. It is no more than common justice to dwell for a moment on the element of daring beauty and scrupulous perfection in the execution of small things which M. Balieff and his associates have introduced to us and so, with marked effect, to the life of the American theater. In the production of the old French ballads, moreover, there has been displayed a sensitiveness of strictly poetic feeling which our stage and assuredly our own variety theaters have never known. The musical element in the various programs, finally, has been above praise. We probably have scenic designers as gifted and original as MM. Soudeikine and Remisoff; we have dancing that expresses our moods as adequately as that of M. Kotchetovsky; we have no composer and arranger of music who has the gifts, skill, taste, exquisite discretion of M. Alexei Archangelsky. His name has not often been mentioned in reviews of the Bat Theater. It should not be permitted to end its career among us without some tribute to this admirable artist.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

THE Tenth Congress of the Soviets held in Moscow late in December decided to consolidate the existing soviet republics into a closer union. The republics comprising the union are: The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (including eight autonomous republics besides Russia proper), the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (consisting of three independent and two autonomous republics), the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, and the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic. Two soviet republics, the Khoresemian People's Soviet Republic and the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic, will stay outside the Union because they have not become Socialist republics. The resolution calling for the formation of the Union was printed in the Moscow *Izvestia* of December 28.

1. The time is ripe for the consolidation of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Transcaucasian Socialist Soviet Republic, and the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic into a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

2. The consolidation shall be based on the principle of voluntary association and the equality of the republics, each reserving for itself the right of seceding from the Union.

3. To authorize a delegation to be composed of comrades Kalinin, Trotzky, Stalin, Rykov, Kamenev, Tsurupa, Molotov, Sokolnikov, Sapronov, Pyatakov, Rudzutak, Bogdanov, Enukidze, Kursky, Khidiraliev, Mendeshov, Korkmassov, Said-Galiev, Mukhtarov, Khalikov, Yanson, Mansurov, Rakhimbayev, to work out, together with the delegates of the Ukraine, the Transcaucasian Republic, and White Russia, an announcement of the creation of the Union of Republics with a statement of the conditions dictating the consolidation of the republics into one united state.

4. To authorize the delegation to determine the conditions governing the entrance of the RSFRS into the Union of Republics and instruct the delegates to defend at the discussion of the Union treaty the following principles:

(a) The creation of the respective legislative and executive organs of the Union;

(b) The amalgamation of the Commissariats of War, the Navy, Transportation, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, and Posts and Telegraph.

(c) The subordination of the Commissariats of Finance, Food, Public Economy, Labor, and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of each of the affiliated republics to the respective commissariats of the Union of Republics.

(d) Full guaranty of the interests of the national development of the peoples of the uniting republics.

5. Before submitting the treaty to the First Congress of the Union of Republics it must be presented for ratification to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in the person of its Praesidium.

6. To authorize the delegation to conclude, upon the basis of conditions accepted by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on behalf of the RSFSR, a treaty with the Socialist Soviet Republics of the Ukraine, Transcaucasia, and White Russia creating the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

7. The treaty shall be submitted to the First Congress of the Union of Republics for ratification.

Chairman of the Tenth Congress of the Soviets,
M. KALININ
Secretary of the Congress,
A. ENUKIDZE

On December 31 the First Congress of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was held in Moscow. The Congress issued the following declaration on the creation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics:

Since the soviet republics have been created the nations of the world have been divided into two camps—the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism.

There, in the camp of capitalism, are national hatred and inequality, colonial slavery and chauvinism, national persecution and pogroms, imperialist atrocities.

Here, in the camp of socialism, mutual confidence and peace, national liberty and equality, peaceful sojourn and fraternal cooperation between the peoples. The efforts of the capitalist world in the course of decades to solve the problems of the nationalities by combining the free development of nations with the system of exploitation of man by man have proved futile. On the contrary, the tangle of national contradictions is becoming more mixed up and is threatening the very existence of capitalism. The bourgeoisie has proved itself powerless in its efforts to bring about cooperation among the nations.

Only in the camp of the soviets, only in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat which consolidated around itself the majority of the people, has it become possible to destroy the roots of national oppression, to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence, and to lay the foundations for the cooperation of the peoples. Only owing to these conditions was it possible for the soviet republics to repel all attacks of the imperialists of the world, both foreign and domestic. Only owing to these conditions was it possible for them to liquidate successfully the civil war, make their existence secure, and start upon peaceful economic reconstruction. But the years of war have left their traces. The ruined fields, the idle factories, the destroyed productive forces, and the exhausted economic resources which are the heritage of the war make the separate efforts of the several republics at economic reconstruction insufficient. The reconstruction of public economy has proved impossible with the republics leading their separate existences.

On the other hand, the unstable international situation and the danger of new attacks make it imperative for the soviet republics to create a united front against the surrounding capitalism.

Finally, the very construction of the soviet power, which is international in its class nature, urges the toiling masses of the soviet republics toward union in one socialist family.

All these conditions imperatively demand the consolidation of the soviet republics into one united state which would be in a position to insure both the external security of the republics, their internal economic progress, and the freedom of national development.

The will of the peoples of the soviet republics which have convened recently at the congresses of the soviets and who have unanimously adopted the decision on the creation of a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is a firm pledge that this Union is a voluntary association of sovereign nations, that to each republic is guaranteed the right of freely quitting the Union, that admission to the Union is open to all Socialist soviet republics, both those existing as well as those which may be created in the future, that the new united state will be the adequate crowning of the principles of peaceful and fraternal cooperation of peoples laid down in October, 1917, that it will serve as a reliable stronghold against world capitalism, and that it will represent a new decisive step toward the union of the toiling masses of all countries into a Universal Socialist Soviet Republic.

Declaring this before the whole world and solemnly proclaiming the unbreakable principles of the soviet power which found their expression in the constitutions of the Socialist soviet republics which have authorized us, we, the delegates of these

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republics, on the strength of the credentials given us, agree to sign the Convention Creating the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Convention Creating the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (RSFSR), the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR), the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (BSSR), and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia) are concluding the present treaty on their consolidation into one united state—the "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics"—on the following bases:

1. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in the person of its highest organ of authority embraces in its scope: (a) Representation of the Union in its international relations; (b) changes in the foreign frontiers of the Union; (c) conclusion of treaties on the admission of new republics into the Union; (d) declaration of war and conclusion of peace; (e) making foreign state loans; (f) ratification of international treaties; (g) establishment of the bases of foreign and internal trade; (h) establishment of a general plan of entire public economy of the Union, as well as conclusion of treaties granting concessions; (i) regulation of the transport and the postal and telegraph service; (j) establishment of bases for the organization of the armed forces of the Union of SSR; (k) confirmation of a unified state budget for the Union, establishment of the coinage, monetary, and credit system, as well as the system of taxes for the whole Union, for the separate republics, and the local taxes; (l) establishment of unified land regulations and regulations for the use of land, as well as for the use of mines, forests, and waters on the whole territory of the Union; (m) common Union legislation on migration; (n) establishment of the bases of the judicial organization and of court proceedings, as well as of the civil and criminal law of the Union; (o) establishment of constitutional laws on labor; (p) establishment of the general principles of public education; (r) establishment of common measures in the field of public health; (s) establishment of a common system of weights and measures; (t) organization of statistical work for the entire Union; (u) constitutional legislation concerning citizenship in the Union in respect to the rights of foreigners; (v) the right of general amnesty; (w) repeal of such decisions of congresses of the soviets, central executive committees, and councils of people's commissars of the separate republics as are in violation of the Union Convention.

2. The highest organ of authority of the Union of SSR is the Congress of the Soviets of the Union of SSR, and, during the periods between congresses, the Central Executive Committee of the Union.

3. The Congress of the Soviets of the Union of SSR is made up of the delegates of city soviets, each delegate representing 25,000 voters, and of delegates of provincial conventions of soviets each delegate representing 125,000 population.

4. Delegates to the Congress of the Soviets of the Union are elected at the provincial conventions of the soviets.

5. Regular congresses of the soviets of the Union are convened by the Central Executive Committee of the Union once during the year; extraordinary congresses are convened by the Central Executive Committee either by its own decision or upon the demand of two of the republics composing the Union.

6. The Congress of the Soviets of the Union elects the Central Executive Committee to be composed of 371 members representing the united republics proportionally to their population.

7. Regular sessions of the Central Executive Committee are held three times a year. Extraordinary sessions are held by the decision of the Praesidium of the CEC, or upon the demand of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union, or of the Central Executive Committee of one of the republics.

8. Congresses of the soviets and sessions of the CEC of the Union are held in the capitals of the republics entering the Union in the order of succession as established by the Praesidium of the CEC of the Union.

9. The Central Executive Committee of the Union elects a Praesidium which represents the highest authority of the Union in periods between sessions of the CEC of the Union.

10. The Praesidium of the CEC is made up of nineteen members from whom the CEC of the Union elects four presidents of the CEC of the Union, one from each republic.

11. The executive organ of the CEC of the Union is the Council of People's Commissars of the Union elected by the CEC of the Union for the period of its own authority. The Council of People's Commissars of the Union is made up of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Vice-Chairmen of the Council, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, People's Commissar of Foreign Trade, People's Commissar of Transportation, People's Commissar of Posts and Telegraph, People's Commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Chairman of the Highest Council of Public Economy, People's Commissar of Labor, People's Commissar of Food, People's Commissar of Finances.

12. For the purpose of affirming the revolutionary law on the territory of the Union and in order to unite the efforts of the allied republics in their struggle against the counter-revolution, a Supreme Court is created in conjunction with the CEC of the Union with the functions of supreme judicial control, and a common organ of State Political Management is created in conjunction with the Council of People's Commissars of the Union, the chairman of this Management entering the Council of People's Commissars of the Union with the right of advisory vote.

13. Decrees and decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union are obligatory for all allied republics and are executed directly on the whole territory of the Union.

14. Decrees and decisions of the CEC and the Council of People's Commissars of the Union are printed in the languages which are in general use in the allied republics (Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Turkoman).

15. The Central Executive Committees of the allied republics enter their protests against decrees and decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union with the Praesidium of the CEC of the Union without stopping their execution.

16. Decrees and decisions of the Council of People's Commissars may be annulled only by the CEC of the Union and by its Praesidium. Decisions of the Councils of People's Commissars of the several republics may be annulled by the CEC of the Union, by its Praesidium, or by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union.

17. Orders issued by the People's Commissars of the Union may be stopped by the central executive committees or by the praesidiums of the central executive committees of the several republics only in special cases when such orders are clearly opposed to decisions of the Council of People's Commissars or of the CEC of the Union. When such an order is stopped the fact should be immediately reported by the CEC or the Praesidium of the CEC of the republic to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union and to the appropriate People's Commissar of the Union.

18. The Council of People's Commissars of the several republics is made up of: The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Vice-Chairmen of the Council, Chairman of the Highest Council of Public Economy, People's Commissar of Agriculture, People's Commissar of Food, People's Commissar of Finances, People's Commissar of Labor, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, People's Commissar of Justice, People's Commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, People's Commissar of Public Education, People's Commissar of Public Health, People's Commissar of Social Maintenance, People's Commissar of the National Minorities, and also, with advisory vote, of representatives of the Union Commissariats of Foreign Affairs, of Military and Naval Affairs, of Foreign Trade, of Transportation, and of Posts and Telegraph.

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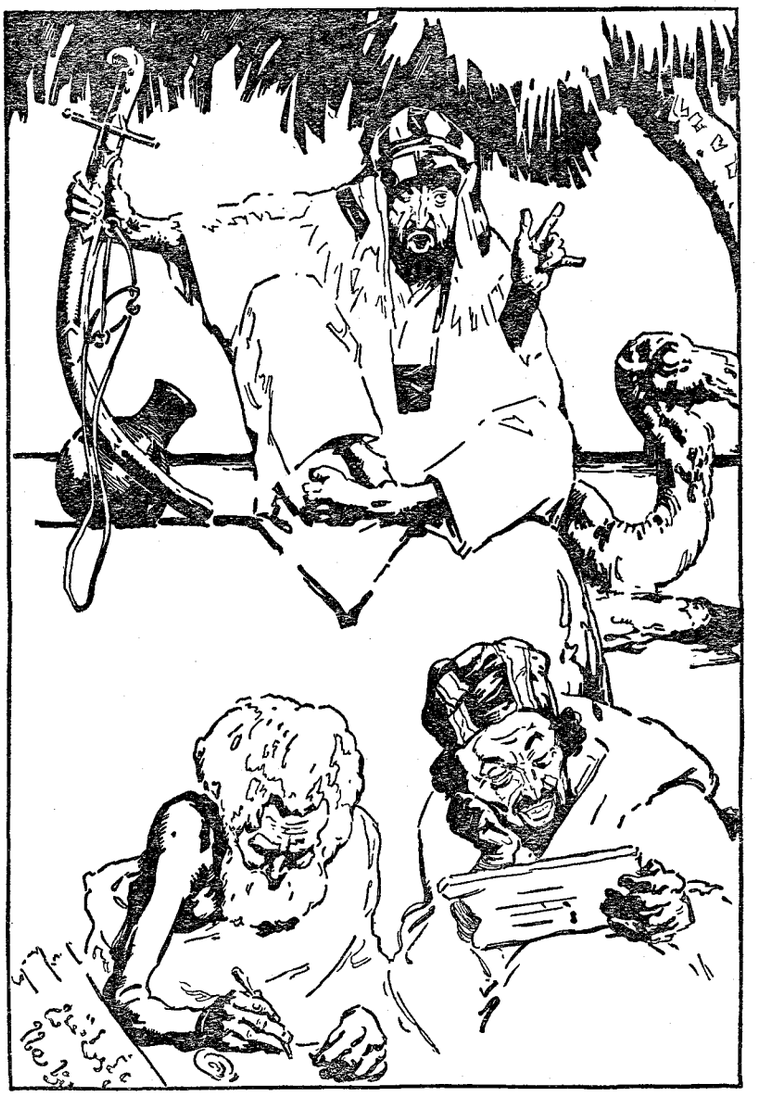

Mohammed Asked Two Questions

MOHAMMED had a lot of weird stories to tell, of course. But he had just as many good bits of philosophy to offer. Incidentally, the Prophet was a beautiful fighter. Now and then, when he encountered a community not inclined to listen to his lectures or sermons he drew his scimitar and gently but firmly removed the heads of all the male residents.

Naturally, therefore, it wasn't long before he was feared and, consequently, soon afterwards, generally believed. While on the march he dictated the Koran, which has since had so large a part in Islam civilization.

One night under the desert moon he gave utterance to this thought—

"When a man dies they who survive him ask what property he has left behind him. The angel who bends over him asks what good deed he has sent before him."

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19. The highest council of public economy and the commissariats of food, finances, labor, and workers' and peasants' inspection of each of the several republics are directly subordinate to the central executive committees and the councils of people's commissars of the several republics and are guided in their activities by the decisions of the corresponding people's commissariats of the Union.

20. The republics composing the Union have their budgets which represent component parts of the common budget of the Union as confirmed by CEC of the Union. The budgets of the republics in their incomes and expenses are established by the CEC of the Union. A list of the incomes and parts of the incomes which go to make up the budgets of the several republics are defined by the Central Executive Committee of the Union.

21. A uniform citizenship is established for the citizens of the several republics.

22. The Union of SSR has its own flag, its emblem, and state seal.

23. The capital of the Union of SSR is Moscow.

24. The several republics are amending their constitutions to agree with the present convention.

25. Only the Congress of the Soviets of the Union has the power to confirm, change, or amend the Union Convention.

26. Each of the uniting republics has the right of seceding from the Union.

Signed by the members of the plenipotentiary delegations:

From the RSFR: Kalinin, Stalin, Rykov, Trotzky, Kamenev, Molotov, Tsurupa, Sokolnikov, Sapronov, Pyatakov, Bogdanov, Rudzutak, Kursky, Khidiraliev, Mendeshov, Korkmassov, Said-Galiev, Mukhtarov, Enukidze, Khalikov, Yanson, Mansurov, Rakhimbayev, Smidovich.

From the Ukrainian SSR: Petrovsky, Frunze, Lebed, Zatonsky, Skrypnik, Yakovenko, Buhay, Simonov, Vlassenko, Paroyko, Smirnov, Abramov, Dubovoy, Nashkovsky, Remeyko, Guly, Zator, Pakhomov, Tukha, Popov, Serbichenko, Kasgkariov, Klimenko.

From the Transcaucasian SFSR: Tzkhakaya, Mussabekov, Miasnikov, Kirov, Orjanikidze, Maharadze, Lukashin, Ambartzumian, Mamulia, Bakhtadze, Bunia-Zade, Jatiev, Ter-Gabrielan, Parushin, Ildrim, Akunda, Lakoba, Kuliev, Ajaria, Husseinov, Mirzoyan, Safarov.

From the White Russian SSR: Cherviakov, Hodoss, Molokovich, Slavinsky, Getner, Khatskevich, Putnin, Epstein, Akirchitz, Babenko, Bukhman, Milenky, Gruzel, Ignatovsky, Moroz, Lyokumovich, Fabricius, Chernushevich, Nikitin, Sholukhovich, Vladimirov, Tuluntis, Levin.

Chairman of the First Congress of The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics,
M. KALININ,
Secretary of the First Congress,
A. ENUKIDZE,

Moscow, December, 30, 1922

Soviet Russia on the Fate of Memel

THE Moscow *Izvestia* of December 26, 1922, published the following note addressed by the Soviet Government to the Allies concerning the question of Memel:

According to information received by the Russian Government the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris is preparing to make final decisions in the near future regulating the question of the Memel territory.

The fate of this territory, which is economically closely related to the Russian and White Russian Soviet Republics, has an immediate bearing on the economic life of the latter. It is sufficient to point out that the timber industry of these republics is, to a considerable extent, dependent upon the conditions which are to regulate the waterways of this territory as well as upon the port of Memel which is one of the natural markets for Russian exports.

Thus any solution of the question of the Memel territory which is arrived at without the direct participation of the soviet republics of Russia and White Russia will amount to an intentional ignoring of these republics in the solution of questions which are closely connected with their national interests and will have to be considered as a violation of the indisputable rights of these republics.

Therefore the Russian and White Russian governments consider it their right to demand that their representatives be admitted to the discussions of the questions concerning the fate of Memel. At the same time the Russian Soviet Republic considers it its duty to declare both for itself and on behalf of the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic that these nations will not recognize any decision in the question of Memel which may be adopted without their participation and against their interests.

Such decisions will have no juridical force for these nations and they will be neither final nor firm.

Acting People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Moscow, December 22, 1922 LITVINOV

The above action on the part of the Soviet Government was called forth, according to comment in the *Izvestia* of December 29, by plans of the French and Polish governments which would virtually turn the Memel district into a Polish-French colony. The main points of the Polish project, presented to the Conference of Ambassadors, for the solution of the Memel question are the following:

1. The Memel province remains autonomous under the management of a high commissioner of French nationality who is the plenipotentiary of the Great Powers. The foreign policies of the Memel Free State are to be conducted by the French Government.

2. A port council is created to be composed of the high commissioner and representatives of Memel, Poland, and Lithuania. The council manages the railways and the navigation on the Niemen River in the Memel district.

3. In the Memel port a free strip is reserved for Poland.

4. The Memel province represents an autonomous customs unit.

5. This temporary arrangement will be in force for ten years.

This Polish project has been strongly resented by the press and the public of Memel.

Immigration to Palestine

THE Press Bureau of the Zionist Executive at Palestine has recently published interesting government tables showing the rate of immigration into Palestine. During November, 1922, 829 persons immigrated. Of these over 500 were women, children, and other persons likely to be dependents. About 300 were men and women with prospects of employment or independent means. At this rate

Contributors to This Issue

WILLIAM HARD, *The Nation's* special Washington correspondent, contributes to this issue his first letter telling "what really happens in Washington."

HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH, author and former Suffrage leader, is now lecturing and writing on economic and political questions.

CLARA MORTENSON BEYER is executive secretary of the Consumers' League of New York, and secretary of the Women's Joint Legislative Conference.

IDA TREAT O'NEIL, formerly a member of the faculty of Western Reserve University, is living in France.

PITTS SANBORN is musical editor of the New York *Globe*.

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Mr. Russell is a forceful and pungent writer, and he makes this rather dry and complicated subject one of keen interest.—*Cincinnati Times-Star.*

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of entry the total immigration to Palestine during a year would be just under ten thousand, considerably less than half of whom would be independent producers. The Press Bureau made the following comment on the figures:

It is anticipated that there will be an increased immigration during the coming few months arising from the authorization of a large number of immigrants under Category E, the category of persons coming to prospective employment. In response to an increased demand for skilled labor which was particularly noticeable in the building trade during the summer months the Government authorized in July the admission of 425 skilled artisans of various trades including carpenters, masons, bricklayers, stone-dressers, plasterers, painters, etc. This number was allocated by the Immigration Department of the Palestine Zionist Executive among the Palestine offices abroad who recommended suitable persons to the British Consul for the grant of visas. Of this number of skilled artisans about half have already arrived in the country and have immediately found employment; the remainder are expected to arrive shortly.

In November and December, to meet the labor demands of the next few months, the immigration of 1,000 unskilled and 100 skilled workmen was authorized by the Government under Category E; these permits have already been allocated among the various countries abroad. The first batch of unskilled laborers have just arrived in Palestine from Constantinople and include among them some ex-legionnaires who served in the Jewish battalion during the war, and some of the refugees from Russia in whom the League of Nations has taken interest and who are being assisted to some extent by the I. C. A.

Twelve immigrants who failed to comply with the Palestine immigration regulations were refused admission. The total includes twenty-seven non-Jews.

NUMBERS OF IMMIGRANTS ENTERING PALESTINE

From November 1 to November 30, 1922

	B Persons of independent means who intend to take up permanent residence in Palestine	C Members of professions who intend to follow their calling	C2 Wives, children, and other persons accompanying immigrants classified under Category C	D Wives, children, and other persons wholly dependent on residents in Palestine	E Persons who have a definite prospect of employment with specified employers or enterprises	E2 Wives, children, and other persons accompanying immigrants classified under Category E	F Persons of religious occupations who have means of maintenance	Total
Men	44	5	..	74	172	1	4	300
Women	46	1	2	178	7	70	3	307
Children	41	..	1	122	...	58	..	222
TOTAL:	131	6	3	374	179	129	7	829

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